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PROMISING PROSPECTS FOR OIL SEARCH DESCRIBED

Kabul NEW TIMES in English 20 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by R. Krishnan: "Promising Prospects for India's Oil Search"]

[Text] From a mere 1.30 dollars per barrel in 1973, the price of crude oil today has shot up for India to 36 dollars a barrel bringing about a 28 fold increase in the eight years period. It is no wonder that a price increase of such a magnitude has seriously upset the economies of many oil-importing countries. As a direct consequence of it, these countries are striving to lessen their reliance on west Asian oil and the search for this high priced commodity has reached a feverish pitch worldwide. India therefore is no exception.

India's dependence on imported crude oil for meeting domestic demand was to the extent of 63 per cent in 1980/81, as compared to 61 per cent and 64 per cent respectively in 1975/76 and 1970/71.

In money terms during 1980/81 the import bill on account of crude oil and products was Rs 5167 crores as compared to Rs 3212 crores in 1970/80 and a mere Rs 541 crores in 1973/74.

These figures amply illustrate the need for

an oil policy in the country with a view to reduce the dependence on oil imports. It is here that the oil exploration efforts, both onshore and offshore, assume importance.

The history of discovery of oil in the country dates back to the 19th century, when wells were drilled in the Eastern State of Assam between 1866 and 1869. In the first well at Makum, oil was struck at a depth of 36 metres but it was not of a commercial nature. It was only in 1889 at Digboi (Assam) that oil was discovered in commercial quantities. Following that, the Assam Oil Company was formed. By 1925, the UK-based Burma Oil Company entered the oil scene and exploration efforts continued intermittently till 1953, when the Naharkatia and subsequently Moran oil fields were discovered in Assam.

In 1956, the Government set up the Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC), which today is the country's premier institution prospecting for oil both onshore and offshore.

In the initial years, geological and geophysical surveys were undertaken exclusively so as to locate prospective sites, where wells could be drilled and tested for occurrence of oil or gas. At that time, except for some exploration efforts in West Bengal under an Indo-Stanvac project and a degree of exploration for hydrocarbons in the north eastern corner of Assam by Assam Oil Company, the entire country was practically a virgin land so far as prospecting for hydrocarbons was concerned.

The first well was drilled in 1957 at Jwalamukhi and gas was struck in this well in May 1958. It, however, did not yield any commercial quantity of gas.

THE WELLS

In the same year, the next well was drilled in Cambay in the Western States of Gujarat and Disangmuki in Assam. Oil was struck in Cambay in September 1958. This was followed by discovery of oil in Ankleshwar

(1960), Kalol (1961), Lakwa (1964) and Geleki (1968) areas of Gujarat and Assam.

Thus Gujarat and Assam became the first two states in India to yield commercial grades of hydrocarbons and even today all the onshore fields lie in these two states, except for a small field in Nagaland in the country's north east. The onshore fields in the country currently produce 8.5 million tonnes of oil every year.

In the last few years, offshore exploration has come to the forefront. Bombay High was the first offshore field to yield commercial quantities of oil in 1976. Today it yields about 8 million tonnes of good quality oil.

As on January 1, 1981, according to a study carried out by ONGC's Reserves Estimate Committee, the initial oil on ONGC's fields had been estimated at 2463 million tonnes and gas at 840 billion cubic metres. Of these the share of offshore is 1,772 million tonnes of oil and 740 billion cubic metres of gas. It must be pointed out here that against such quantities of oil in place, only a small part of it can be won for commercial production. In the case of gas, however, the recovery could be more.

At the current international prices, the recoverable gas and oil as above has a value of Rs. 1,20,000 crores. The proportion of oil that can be recovered

can be raised by secondary recovery techniques. The ONGC is drawing up a ten year perspective plan for exploration in the current decade. A provisional picture of it suggests that even in Gujarat and Assam which are producing zones, 216 and 490 exploratory wells respectively are required to be drilled. Besides, there are numerous sedimentary basins onland where drilling has so far not produced results, but drilling density has not been adequate and so more drilling would be required.

The areawise onshore exploration strategy adopted in the country is as follows:

Gujarat— While exploration has so far been confined to relatively shallow depths in the Cambay basin, the plan is now to take up deeper prospects also. The discovery of gas at Dahej at deeper levels has opened up a new vista. Incidentally, exploration will also be taken into the older rocks of Mesozoic age. The northern part of the State also holds promise.

Assam and other North-Eastern States— Exploratory drilling is being mostly carried out in Brahmaputra Valley and Tripura and some drilling has also been carried out in Cachar, Meghalaya and Nagaland. Elsewhere in Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh geological mapping is continuing.

West Bengal — Several wells have been drilled in the past, but there was no oil discovery. Currently two wells are

being drilled. A new approach is being pursued to search for sand bodies in the extension of ancient deltas under the sea before it recedes to its present shore line. In the Sunderbans area, seismic work has been completed and the data is being processed.

Andhra Pradesh — Wells are under drilling at Narasapur-2 and Razole. Gas was struck in the well drilled at that place. More wells are now being taken up for drilling.

The other areas where ONGC is prospecting for onshore oil include: Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan, North Western Himalayan foothill encompassing areas in Jammu and Himachal Pradesh. In the case of Ganga Valley, covering plains in UP and North Bihar, wells have proven dry. However, some interesting geological leads have been found and these are being followed by seismic surveys in the first instance.

The ONGC has upto July 1981 discovered oil in the onshore areas at 39 places in Gujarat, eight in Assam and one in Nagaland.

For oil exploration, 28 seismic parties have been deployed in onland areas, of which 8 are in Gujarat, 3 in the Cauvery Basin, 4 in Krishna-Godawari Basin, one in Rajasthan, one in UP, 2 in Bihar, 4 in West Bengal, one in Tripura and 4 in Assam.

Currently 14 rigs are deployed for drilling in Gujarat, 14 in Assam, 3

in Tripura, 2 in West Bengal and 2 in the Godavari Basin to carry out exploratory and development drilling.

Offshore oil fields are a recent addition to the country's history of oil exploration. While the first offshore oil field was struck in Bombay High in February 1974, the commercial production began in May 1976 with an initial production of 4000 barrels per day. Today offshore fields yield over 7.5 to 8 million tonnes (slightly over 1,50,000 barrels per day) a year. The recent finds 30 kilometres east of Bombay High have added a new dimension to India's search for oil offshore.

Besides the Bombay High and Satellite structures, offshore exploration is also being carried out in the Andaman and Pondicherry offshore areas and the Palk Strait. Seismic surveys have been carried out in the entire continental shelf and are being extended to continental slopes as well. Exploration is planned in the offshore Krishna-Godavari basin, offshore Cauvery Basin in the South. Offshore Andaman, Off-

shore Saurashtra structures.

Exploration in the shallow water area of West Bengal is also planned within the Sixth Plan period of 1980/85.

As per the latest available information, oil has been struck in offshore Cauvery Basin. Using the US drilling ship Gettysberg chartered by ONGC, oil was struck in the Cauvery basin in the third week of September at a depth of 2301 to 2312 metres. The initial flow was 1500 barrels a day amounting to 200 tonnes. Because of shallow water, it is believed that the area could be ready for commercial production in about 18 to 24 months. The Cauvery basin extends over an area of 25,000 Sq. km in the sea and 15,000 sq metres on land. This was the seventh well to be drilled. Two wells in Pondicherry, two in the Cauvery, one near Karikal again in South India yielded nothing.

The significance of this find lies in the fact that it is for the first time that oil has been found in India in the 'upper cretaceous sands (the historically not-so-old-layers)'. Thus besides the Bombay High, India's South is

also likely to yield significant quantities of offshore oil in the near future.

In view of such promising discoveries, the sixth Plan outlay of the Commission has been revised upward to Rs. 4788 crores from the original Rs. 3370 crores.

The potential for oil in India is evident from the fact that India is at present extracting only one-fifth of the oil available and the remaining four-fifths of known reserves are untapped. The current oil production, both onshore and offshore, total 16 million tonnes. By 1984-85 it is hoped that the country would produce 30 million tonnes of oil, of which offshore alone would contribute 21 million tonnes. This is likely to meet 70 per cent of India's needs.

According to Union Petroleum Minister Mr PC Sethi the 30 million tonnes output does not take into account the possible production from new discoveries in the East of Bombay High, Palk Strait and also from Godavari offshore.

In 1981/82 the imports of oil are thus likely to be less than in the last year.

PAKISTANIS HELD PRISONER IN LIBYAN MILITARY CAMPS

Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 28, 29, 30 Nov 81

[Article by Riyaz Batalvi: "6 Days in Libya"]

[28 Nov 81 p 5]

[Text] The tragedy of Al Murtaza Associates which some 11 months previously had put about 3000 of the country's families in mental and spiritual anguish, reached its conclusion when an 11 member Pakistan government delegation reached Libya, and after 5 days of negotiation, was successful in obtaining permission for some 2700 Pakistanis residing in various camps to return to their country. These Pakistanis had gone to Libya as watchmen under the auspices of a recruiting agent called Al Murtaza Associates. According to their contract they were to receive a monthly salary of 120 dinars; housing was to be free; they were to receive time and a half overtime, a free ticket [to and from Libya], and 15 days vacation. However, as soon as they reached Libya, they were moved to various camps and army bases. Not only were they made to live under harsh conditions, but they also began to be given guerrilla training.

From the complaints of these Pakistanis which reached Pakistan, it was known that the Al Murtaza Associates' recruits were living a life of great anguish in desolate and barren deserts. They were not properly fed. They were ill-treated. Their hair and beards were shaven. Day and night in the blazing sun of the burning desert and in murderous humidity they were being given military training, and were always under strict guard. This news also gave the impression that the Pakistanis had been put in a mercenary army and would be sent to various countries at the discretion of the Libyan government. This impression became fact when it was published in the newspapers that a group of 100 Pakistanis had been sent to Damascus from where they would go on to fight in Lebanon with the Palestinians against the Israelis and Lebanese Christians.

There were also rumors circulating in Pakistan a few months before that the Pakistanis who had gone to Libya as watchmen had been divided into groups. The civilians had been put in a separate group, and those with military experience had been put into an army going to Chad, Aden, Ethiopia and Uganda. People believed these rumors because a few Pakistanis had been included in the mercenary army which had gone to Nairobi shortly before to put the deposed Idi Amin back in power, and these Pakistanis were those who had illegally emigrated to Europe and the Middle East in search of work and had been forced by unemployment to join such secret organizations. The public's anxiety and apprehension increased when they heard the

rumor that the people going to Libya through the good offices of Al Murtaza Associates were being put into Murtaza Bhutto's so-called Liberation Army, and that they would be given terrorist training and brought back to Pakistan. The background for this rumor was that the traitors Brigadier Usman, Col Taufiq, and Col Habib, who were resident in Libya, had many times toured the camps of the Pakistanis and had urged them to fight a war against their country.

The groundwork for this tragedy was laid about a year before in London when a Libyan diplomat Musa Kusa made a contract with two brothers, Col (retired) Wajid Bukhari and Manzur Husain Bukhari of the village Kamrah in District Campbellpore, that they should recruit some 5000 people. The Bukhari brothers had resided in England for some time and had taken up British citizenship. There is also evidence that Manzur Husain Bukhari acted as an agent for Libya outside the country and purchased arms for that country from secret markets in Europe. In addition, he had a contract of millions of dinars to publish literature for the government of Col Mu'ammarr Qadhafi. With this new contract for manpower, the Bukhari brothers obtained 600,000 dinars from the Libyan government and, depositing 300,000 dinars in a Swiss bank, established a firm by the name of "Bridges." In order to fulfill the first conditions of the contract they registered this firm in Liberia, and it was attested by the Pakistani ambassador in Switzerland.

After the contract had been signed, the Bukhari brothers went to Libya, and after getting their instructions, came to Pakistan. They had the visas attested by the Protector of the Bureau of Immigration and Manpower and, in partnership with five recruiting agencies--Mirza and Sons, Allied Associates, Azim Recruiting Agency, Umar Agency and Abbassi Recruiting Agency--began to recruit people. Although it was plainly stated in the contract that they were looking for watchmen and guards and that they would not be asked to do any military kind of work, the recruiting agents began to especially recruit people with military experience and those who had fled from defense organizations. The recruiting agents collected from 6000 to 15,000 rupees per head, and in a few days had recruited some 2700 civilians and people with military experience. The people with military experience were mostly from the districts of Rawalpindi and Azad Kashmir, while the majority of the civilians were from the Frontier. At this time these people wanting to go to Libya did not have the slightest idea that they would be asked to do military service or that they would be put in a mercenary army. They were just going to Libya as watchmen in order to better the lives of their wives and children.

Al Murtaza Associates' first group arrived in Tripoli on 26 January. One of the Bukhari brothers met them, painted a rosy picture of the future for them, and had them sent to the military camp Jang Zur under the supervision of the Libyan Army. This camp is situated on the shores of the Mediterranean and used to be part of the customs zone for the port. At first the Pakistanis were given good food and lodging, although there was the restriction that they could not go outside the camp and could not meet with any Pakistani living in Tripoli. After this people began arriving from Pakistan in groups and they were lodged in this camp. When there were 2002 people, they were told that under Libyan law they would have to go through three months of military training and wear para-military uniforms. A list of the names and occupations of the newcomers was prepared there, and the rank and units of those with military experience was noted.

On 14 March the first group of Pakistanis, in which there were some 200 people, was moved to Al Shuwayrif Camp 750 kilometers from Tripoli. Al Shuwayrif is in the Sahara desert. Travel in the desert is difficult and dangerous, and Libya's third largest city Mizdah is about 450 miles away from the camp. There is burning and blowing sand in all directions, and as soon as the sun comes up the sand begins to glow like embers. Al Shuwayrif is a guerrilla camp and it gives the impression of an Italian era fort. The camp administrators dropped the Pakistanis in a square mile of desert surrounded by barbed wire and imprisoned them on the bare earth under the open sky. At first they were made to repair the fort and build roads, and later their military training started. Early in the morning they were made to practice judo, and from 10:00 am to 2:00 pm they paraded on the hot sand under the blazing sun. People fell unconscious during the parade and were injured but were given no medical treatment or care.

After a few days Bukhari, the owner of Murtaza Associates, toured the camps of Pakistanis and gave each of them 10 dinars as wages. When people asked for the rest of their wages, they were told that it had been deposited and would be given to them at the proper time. That day each of the inhabitants of the camp was given an envelope and told to write to his loved ones, but these letters never reached Pakistan. It should be mentioned in this regard that the Bukhari brothers had put their own men in charge of these unfortunate Pakistanis, and these men were themselves Pakistanis. In fact it was they who tortured and oppressed them, and the camp commander Abdul Razaq and his companions who were situated in the various camps, especially took advantage of the powerlessness and helplessness of their fellow countrymen.

On 26 April the 200 Pakistanis in Al Shuwayrif Camp were moved 200 kilometers away to Bu Ghalyan Camp. Bu Ghalyan is surrounded on all sides by burning sand and scorching black rocks. There are furious black dust storms here, and one cannot tell where the sky ends and the desert begins. No sign of habitation can be seen for a great distance. At first sight it seems as though no living soul has ever passed through here. This is certainly the land of desolate deserts and black mountains which is mentioned in stories and fairy tales. The Government of Libya established this camp recently and it is used for military purposes. These men had been brought here too for military training, and they were made to work day and night.

By 10 May there were 2500 Pakistanis in Al Shuwayrif Camp and now they were being divided into various groups. A group of 500 men with military experience was separated from the rest and made into four companies of Infantry, Artillery, Cavalry, and Signals under an organization called al-Sa'iqah. Then those with military experience were given uniforms and began to be given training in the use of various weapons such as pistols and revolvers, G2 rifles, light machine guns, anti-tank machine guns, mortar cannons, and 12 barrel guns. Those who were too old or weak or otherwise unfit for military service were given work in agriculture, carpentry or masonry. These people worked for 18 hours at a stretch with no rest and nothing to eat or drink, and when they became exhausted, they fell where they stood. Muhammad Ishaq of District Kohat died in this very camp. A young man named Miraj fell ill and when there was no hope of his living, he was moved someplace else. Similarly, a former army officer from Gujarat, Abdul Hamid, fell ill, and because of receiving no treatment, passed away.

On 18 August the 500 men with military experience were separated from their companions and taken by truck to Bu Ghaylan Camp. From among them 100 men were selected and taken to Tripoli to be sent to Syria. In Tripoli they were put on an United African Airlines Boeing and sent to Damascus. It is said that their next stop was Lebanon, but when they refused to go to Beirut they were beaten at the airport and brought back to Tripoli, and imprisoned at Ghaylan Camp 20 kilometers from the city. This state of affairs sent a wave of anxiety and apprehension through the Pakistanis and they began to try somehow to reach the Pakistan embassy.

During this period a group of the Pakistanis in Al Shuwayrif Camp was sent to the military site of Al Kufrah, some 3000 kilometers away on the Chad and Sudanese border. Al Kufrah is in the Sahara desert. It is an oil area and there is also agriculture nearby. It is some 1200 kilometers from Libya's historical, second largest city, Benghazi. Some people were also moved to the two camps near Benghazi, Southwest Farm and Benghazi Coast. Southwest Farm was established for agriculture, while Benghazi Coast is a military camp. It was mostly Pakistani military men who had been brought to this camp, and this included those who had been given commando training as well. But they refused to go to Damascus, Beirut, Aden, Chad and Ethiopia.

The unfavorable conditions of the camps and the troubles of the recruits of Al Murtaza Associates would have remained a secret if four Pakistanis had not managed to escape from Al Shuwayrif Camp and reach Tripoli. Their story is also one of agony. According to one of the Pakistanis who fled the camp, during the day they hid behind sand dunes and traveled at night with the guidance of the stars. They were fortunate in that one day they came across some foreign construction companies which were building a road. They asked help of the workers building the road, and the workers gave them a lift in their truck to the outskirts of Tripoli. There they met a Pakistani in a car who took pity on the plight of his fellow countrymen and took them to the city, and then their story became known.

[29 Nov 81 p 5]

[Text] The Government of Pakistan would never have known of the miserable plight of the 2700 Pakistanis who had gone to Libya if some letters and cassettes had not been smuggled from the camps into Pakistan and if a mother had not gone to the home of the Federal Minister of Labor Ghulam Dastagir Khan, and made this plea: "Make me your servant for life, but bring back my son from Libya." And perhaps the Government of Libya would never have realized the deception of the Bukhari brothers if the President of Pakistan, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, had not sent an 11 member delegation to Libya after he heard the story of the difficulties of his countrymen.

After touring 6 camps and hearing the conversations of the Pakistanis present there, and after holding an exchange of views with the relevant Libyan authorities, I formed the impression that a recruiting agent had, for the sake of material gain, not only betrayed his country but had also deceived the Government of Libya. Until the arrival of the Pakistani delegation, the Department of Employment in Libya was unaware of the conditions in the camps, and its leaders had no idea that Pakistanis were being forced to do military service against their will. They were amazed at the miserable plight of the Pakistanis in the camps, and said that they had been deceived.

during the daily tour of Libya, I saw the Tripoli, Benghazi and Al Kutrah camps with my own eyes, and talked face to face with Pakistanis who had endured physical and mental hardship for many months in al-Shuwayrif and Bu Ghaylan. There were 100 Pakistanis in the Ghaylan Camp near Tripoli, which is also called Jetty al-Hayman and which is next to the Libyan Cantonment Jang Thir. Some of them were among those who had been sent to Damascus against their will. The other camp in Tripoli is Saba' Abril which in English translation is '7 April.' There were 397 Pakistanis here. The two camps are 10 and 20 kilometers from the city.

There are two camps in Libya's second largest, ocean-side city Benghazi, 1000 kilometers from Tripoli. One is called Southwest and the other is known as Benghazi Coast Camp. The number of Pakistanis in Southwest was 469 and those in Benghazi Coast 102. All of these people were commandos and some of them had come back from Damascus. The number of Pakistanis in the Al Kutrah Camp in the Azam desert 1700 kilometers from Benghazi was 302, and they were passing their days in tents a short distance from the town. The al-Shuwayrif Camp is in the opposite direction from the Al Kutrah Camp and there is a distance of about 3400 kilometers between the two. There were more than 700 Pakistanis in this camp, and this is the camp where the Pakistanis coming to be watchmen had been given guerrilla training, and when they refused the training, had been treated violently. There is an Italian fort in al-Shuwayrif which in its desolation looks like a house of persecution. In this camp there were 12 people who were ill and who had become disabled. The last camp was Bu Ghaylan. This place is even further than al-Shuwayrif, and is surrounded by scorching rocks and dunes of black sand. There were about 175 Pakistanis there. There were also some people in Ghaylan, al-Shuwayrif and Bu Ghaylan who had become mentally ill. I felt like crying at the condition of one youth, Khalid Mahmud of Gujar Khan. At any rate, the Government of Libya has put them in a hospital for treatment.

At every camp the Pakistani delegation visited, they were welcomed with shouts of God is Great, Long Live Pakistan, and Long Live General Zia-ul-Haq. When they met with the members of the Pakistani delegation they began to weep like children, and repeatedly embraced them. I will never be able to forget what I saw in the Benghazi Coast Camp. As soon as the car of the federal minister entered the camp, not only did the faces of the Pakistanis present there light up, but they insisted on lifting the delegation onto their shoulders. With my own eyes I saw the people in the Benghazi Coast Camp kissing the Pakistani flag waving on the car, and touching it to their eyes. Time and again as the minister and his company addressed their countrymen, their voices would choke up, and time and time again the people there would weep with anguish at the mention of their mothers, their fathers, their sisters and brothers, and their wives and children.

During the tour of these camps the Pakistani delegation had to travel 1800 miles by double airplane. The Libyan authorities were also with them, and sometimes among the ladies of the Pakistani delegation, their hearts too spilled over. The trip to al-Shuwayrif in particular was a dangerous one and the pilot of the 16-seat plane was unfamiliar with the route. I felt that despite all the trials and tribulations they had undergone in the 11 months from January to December, their courage, patience and love of country was a sight to see. They would weep and again that they lived for their country. If they were alive, it was for their motherland, for their children, then it would be in the embrace of the pure earth of Pakistan.

I also learned from several well-informed sources close to the Libyan government that Murtaza Bhutto made a trip here in July and met with those prisoners living near Benghazi who had been sent to Damascus at the demand of the hijackers of the Boeing plane. Dr Ghulam Husain and the Col Habib who was implicated in the Rawalpindi firing case, were among them. Major Faruq, the murderer of the Bangladesh leader Mujib-ur Rahman, also lives with them. At Murtaza Bhutto's request, the Libyan government has set a monthly allowance for Dr Ghulam Husain and has given Col Habib employment in the United African Airlines.

We also heard here that some people in Murtaza Bhutto's so-called Liberation Army have been trained here and the terrorists later sent to Kabul. We also learned that when the Libyan government made a contract with the Bukhari brothers for manpower and asked them to recruit 5000 people from any country whatsoever, Murtaza Bhutto met with the Bukhari brothers in London and, assuring them of his cooperation, asked them to recruit people for Libya from among deserters and those with army experience in Pakistan so that when the time came they could be used in the so-called Liberation Army. In order to take advantage of Murtaza Bhutto's connections and influence, the Bukhari brothers gave their firm the name Al Murtaza and went to Libya with him. The advantage of this was that the Libyan government gave the Bukhari brothers an advance of 300,000 dinars and later gave them an additional 300,000.

The Pakistani delegation had with them the list of 2662 people whom the Al Murtaza Associates had sent to Libya as watchmen, guards and supervisors, and who had been selected for guerrilla training as soon as they reached Libya. However there is also the impression that the number of Pakistanis receiving guerrilla training is 2960. It is said that the remaining 298 Pakistanis are those who went to Europe and the Middle East illegally in search of work, and fell into the hands of the Bukhari brothers. In this special army there were military people and deserters from Bangladesh, Somalia, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Aden, Tanzania, Sudan, Syria and Egypt as well as Pakistanis, and they were commonly transported to various places by the United African Airlines. The United African Airlines is an unregistered airlines and its fundamental purpose is the transportation of troops. The planes of this airline fly between Damascus, Kabul, Ethiopia, South Yemen and Beirut. During my stay in Tripoli I also heard that a few days before some Pakistanis had seen Pakistanis in military uniforms in a truck going to Tobruk. It was also revealed that there were some Pakistanis doing military service in Aden.

The members of the delegation went first to Ghaylan camp some 10 kilometers from Tripoli. The majority of the Pakistanis here had arrived shortly before, after having received guerrilla training in al-Shuwayrif. They were about 500, and they included former Pakistani military men with ranks of major down to the foot soldier. There were also quite a few members with connections with the police and para-military organizations, but the majority were from the Frontier. The recruiting agent had given the Libyan government the impression that they were all "soldiers." While addressing his countrymen, the voice of the leader of the delegation choked up and, seeing his eyes filled with tears, the Pakistanis far from their homes began to weep, and it seemed to me as though the very walls of the camp were weeping. Not only those torn from home and loved ones, but also the members of the delegation were weeping. And seeing their tear-filled eyes, the faces of our Libyan hosts also became grave.

For the first time in this camp the members of the delegation heard in person about the difficulties of their countrymen, the echoes of which had reached Pakistan. Until they reached Tripoli, the minister and the rest of the delegation could not believe that the Pakistanis coming to Libya had really fallen under oppression. The Libyan embassy in Pakistan too had called these matters rumors and imaginary tales. In fact the Libyan ambassador went so far as to tell me that the cassettes had been made in Pakistan and were a conspiracy of the capitalists who wanted to cause bad relations between the two brother countries. But the truth was speaking in this camp, and the Pakistanis were attesting to those heart-rending stories which had reached Islamabad, Lahore and Karachi.

On the way from Ghaylan to the other camp near Tripoli, Saba' Abril, I asked the Libyan police officer Mr Hani, who was appointed to take care of the delegation, whether his government was aware of the conditions in the camps. He shook his head in the negative and said "That is false." I asked if it was also false that the government of Libya had recruited watchmen to guard offices, buildings, construction sites and city property, but they had been selected for guerrilla training instead? Hani answered my question saying that the majority of the people voluntarily enlisted for 'jihad,' and, in accordance with their intentions, they chose 100 men to send to Lebanon by way of Damascus. Mr Hani's answer seemed an admission that the contract had been broken and the Pakistanis given guerrilla training against their will. In the light of this answer, it may be surmised that those who refused the training were treated violently.

When we reached Saba' Abril, the people there were overcome with happiness when they saw the members of the delegation and rent the sky with cries of "Long Live Pakistan," and embraced the newcomers. After the minister's speech, a former army major told the entire story from their departure from Pakistan to their arrival in Libya, going to various camps, and obtaining military training in hunger and thirst. This military man was among those 100 commandoes who had been sent against their will to Damascus and who at the Damascus airport had refused to go further. He revealed that when those men came back from the Damascus airport, their clothes were soaked in blood. And it was not the Libyan guards who had bathed them in blood but their own brothers who had done this violence, especially a Pakistani named Abdul Razaq, who was in the forefront of torturing his fellow countrymen. With him there was a military man named Pahalvan. Both of them were not only the men of the Bukhari brothers but also often met with the terrorists who had been sent from Pakistan at the demand of the hijackers of the plane.

The people at the camp complained about a few of their countrymen whom they said were a disgrace to their country and most certainly were connected with the Al Fikhar organization. These handful of individuals kept spitting out poison against their country. They had countless times announced that they no longer had any connection with their nation and if the time came they were ready to fight against it. When I asked one Pakistani about these traitors, I was told that they were in al-Shuwayrif and now must certainly be around somewhere. The people in this camp wrote messages on their photographs, letters, and small pieces of paper and asked us to inform their families of their welfare. Since they came here they had not been able to send any messages and they were worried what their parents, wives, children, brothers and sisters, and friends and relatives would be thinking.

That was a sight to see. People were writing messages on pieces of paper, on empty cigarette packages, and on the back of pictures. Those who had no pictures were full of regret, and those who could not write were asking the help of their companions. Most of the people in those two camps were from Rawalpindi, Gujar-Khan, Jhelu, Chakwal, Azad Kashmir, Gujarat, Cambellpore and the Frontier. I met many people who could speak no language other than Pas'to and it was very difficult to hold a conversation with them.

[30 Nov 81 p 5]

[Text] The next day after the tour of those camps there was another round of talks with the Libyan authorities and Mr Ghulam Dastagir Khan made Muhammad Abdullah al-Mabruk and the officers of his department aware of the pitiable condition of the Pakistanis and of their desire to return to their homeland. And on that day, in the presence of the Pakistani delegation, Muhammad al-Mabruk confirmed that the Bukhari brothers had received 600,000 dinars from them. He said, "Give us the Bukhari brothers and you take back your people." He also said that both Pakistan and Libya had been deceived.

I had more than 50 pictures, letters and messages from the Pakistanis, and our next stop was Benghazi. Benghazi is the second largest city of Libya. It is situated on the shore of the Mediterranean; 14.5 percent of the population of Libya is in this city. British influences are more evident in this region. The local people are cultured, broadminded and sociable. This region used to be called Cyrenaica. Pakistani doctors, teachers and nurses had come to this city first. The Pakistani doctors here also gave a welcoming party in honor of the delegation. There were two camps of the Al Murtaza Associates' recruits in Benghazi. The Pakistani delegation went first to Southwest. The tales of intolerable treatment people in Southwest suffered made one's hair stand on end. One Pakistani there told me to go to al-Shuwayrif and Bu Ghaylan first, they were even worse off. He also said that many of his companions had died because of the terrible hardships, and others had become crippled and were imprisoned in the fort. Some of the wounds were such that there were insects in them. The people in this camp also complained of Razaq and his companions. The people in this camp told us that there were Pakistani terrorists in this camp and that at first they toured the camps trying to persuade people to accept the leadership of Murtaza Bhutto and fight against Pakistan.

All of those in Benghazi Coast Camp were commandoes, and they were being readied to be sent to some unknown destination when the news of their miserable plight reached Pakistan. The commandoes made the leader of the delegation aware of the suffering they underwent in the course of guerrilla training, and revealed that they were given very little food. Their tea was served in empty olive containers, and they were forced to work even when suffering from fever. People fell while walking and became unconscious while sitting. One day the Bukhari brothers toured the camp and told them that Libya had bought them for 600 dinars each and now they would have to live and die on this soil. We heard many heart-rending stories here. For example, one man from Peshawar had pawned his two daughters to a shopkeeper in order to come here in search of his dreams. One young man from Azad Kashmir had sold the building which was the only cover for the heads of his wife and children in order to come here to work for a better future. One man said

that before he came to Libya his younger brother kept seeing in a dream that he had brought him a car from abroad in which there were grapevines growing, but after he came here the dream disappeared into the burning sands of the desert, and instead of a car, they were living in airtight cabins such a people are imprisoned in for punishment. Tears filled his eyes as he said, "Even on the 'Id we were starving and were not even able to pray."

The third day we were to meet the Pakistanis in Al Kufrah Camp in the Azam desert. Al Kufrah is a small town situated near Chad and Sudan and is a Libyan military station. The majority of people here are Sudanese, in fact the mosques are filled with them. That night the doctors and engineers gave a party in honor of the delegation and invited the Libyan authorities too. The doctors talked with the leader of the delegation about their problems, and frankly discussed the conditions of Pakistanis in Libya. Dr Akhtar Malik had been living in Libya for some time and is the guiding spirit of the Pakistan Association. The young protocol officer, Mr Hadi, was sitting next to me on the sofa. I asked him why Libya had refused permission to the Pakistani Boeing plane carrying the prisoners sent out of the country at the demand of the hijackers to land in Tripoli. Mr Hadi was startled by my question, and after thinking a bit, said, "Pakistan and Libya are two brother countries and we did not want to give the Pakistani people the wrong impression by allowing the prisoners to land in our country." But in contrast to Mr Hadi's answer, some Pakistanis in Benghazi told me that the Libyan authorities were fearful of a severe reaction against the arrival of the prisoners among the 90,000 Pakistanis who live in Libya. It was possible that they might have come out of the houses in protest.

Early in the morning the small Boeing plane which the Libyan government had chartered for us took off for the Sahara desert. Going over the ocean of yellow sand and yellow rocky cliffs emerging from this ocean, the plane landed at the military airport. We could see people of the military of several countries at the airport. We reached Al Kufrah Camp by car and heard the stories of the Pakistanis there. One young man who was brought before the leader of the delegation was standing on crutches. When he left his home he was walking perfectly well. He fell ill during the course of training, and because of lack of treatment, his legs had become crippled. He was wondering what his old mother and father and his innocent children would think when they see him on crutches.

FORMER MINISTER CLARIFIES 1977 EVENTS

Karachi DAWN in English 31 Jan 82 p 12

[Text]

— NIAZI

LAHORE, Jan 30: Former Information Minister Maulana Kausar Niazi has said that whether the present Government wanted to postpone the October 1977 election or not, it is certain that the elections were postponed at the request of PNA and some leaders of the former ruling party.

He told weekly "Chattan", as reported by a Lahore Urdu daily, that PNA leaders tried for the postponement because they feared that the former ruling party would sweep the elections.

Maulana Niazi said the Election Cell also persuaded some leaders of the former ruling party to demand the postponement of polls. Not the Bhutto family, but Mustafa Khar was foremost. They told their comrades that if the elections were postponed and a national government was formed, it would be better for them.

Maulana Niazi said the military Government was justified in saying that the elections had been postponed at the request of leaders of both the parties.

Maulana Niazi said it was the former Government that offered to hold talks with the PNA in 1977. There was no formal agenda, and as such all controversial issues could be discussed. First of all, formation of a joint provisional government was discussed. The Government offered four ministries to the PNA but they wanted 50 per cent of ministries. This could not be resolved. Mr. Bhutto insisted that only four members would be taken from the PNA, and that he would himself choose them.

About his differences with the former ruling party and Mrs.

Bhutto, Maulana Niazi said the reason was Mrs. Bhutto's political policies. It had begun when he came back from Haj and met Mrs. Bhutto at her residence. Till that time she was not considered one of the leaders of the party nor had Mr. Bhutto given her any political responsibility in his lifetime. As such, making her leader of the party was out of question. Named as leader after Mr. Bhutto was Sheikh Rashid or Mr. Jatoi. Mr. Bhutto had sent a message from the jail that to iron out the differences, Mrs. Bhutto be made leader of the party. As a mark of respect to him, she was made provisional chairman.

The Maulana said it was Mr. Bhutto's mistake to advise her to accept party leadership. Actually, Mr. Bhutto had lost faith in his comrades.

Maulana Niazi said he had left Mrs. Bhutto because of her negative thinking and negative sentiments.

He said Mrs. Bhutto had been imposed on the party in an undemocratic way, and now she wanted the people to give her the status of Mr. Bhutto. Being an Iranian, she had no knowledge about Pakistani nation, its politics, problems and temperament. As far as her daughter Benazir was concerned, she had lived outside the country all her life. "She is a poor young girl," the Maulana said. Understanding politics and leading the party was beyond her, he added.

Maulana Niazi said he was not sorry for leaving Jamaat-e-Islami which he quit due to differences on principles—PIJ

PPP LEADER ON CONTACT WITH OTHER PARTIES

Karachi DAWN in English 31 Jan 82 p 12

[Text]

The object of contacts by the defunct Pakistan People's Party (PPP) with the parties outside the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was "solely for the purpose of restoration of democracy in the country and securing the legitimate rights of the people".

"The people want that the political parties should form a broadbased alliance. We as politicians, are to translate the wishes of the people into a reality", Sahebzada Farooq Ali Khan, a former Speaker of the National Assembly and a leader of defunct PPP, told newsmen after a two-hour meeting, his second in two days, with Begum Nusrat Bhutto at her residence on Saturday.

Giving his views on the functioning of Majlis-i-Shoora, he said, "The essence and main function of a parliament is an adjournment, censure and privilege motion and not only legislation, which is only part of its

overall functions. If it is deprived of its main function then the body is powerless or, in other words, only an advisory body.

Commenting on the statement of Khwaja Mohammad Saldar, Chairman of the Majlis-i-Shoora that he would seek its recognition from the International Parliamentary Union (IPU) Mr Farooq Ali Khan said, "only elected parliaments are to be recognised."

He recalled that during a debate on the country's foreign affairs when he was Speaker of the National Assembly, he said the then government had placed no restrictions and foreign envoys were invited to listen to the debate, unlike the practice followed by the Majlis-i-Shoora.

"How can you expect to take the people into confidence without telling them the dangers facing the country in an open debate," he added.—PP1

PAKISTAN, INDIA JOINT COMMISSION

Karachi DAWN in English 1 Feb 82 p 1

[Article by Nisar Osmani]

[Text]

NEW DEHLI, Jan. 31: Pakistan and India have decided to set up a joint commission which would meet periodically to deal with bilateral relations.

A proposal in this regard came from the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indra Gandhi, and was accepted by the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr Agha Shahi, when he called on her this afternoon. The meeting lasted over half an hour.

Newsman covering the Indo-Pakistan parleys were informed at a joint briefing that the details of composition and the level of the proposed commission were yet to be worked out. It may however, be added that a joint commission of the two

countries has been formed for the first time and such bodies are normally headed by Foreign Ministers of the concerned countries.

During his brief meeting with the Indian Prime Minister, Mr Agha Shahi conveyed to her the greetings of President Zia-ul-Haq and reiterated Pakistan's firm resolve and profound desire to live permanently in peace with India as well as to promote mutual trust and confidence.

Welcoming the assurance, Mrs Gandhi said India regarded the stability and strength of her neighbours as part of her strength. 'We want Pakistan all the best,' she added.

Mrs Gandhi also asked the Pakistan Foreign Minister to convey her warm regards to the Pakistan President.

REPORT ON EVIDENCE ACT FINALIZED

Karachi DAWN in English 1 Feb 82 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Jan 31: The eight-day session of the Council of Islamic Ideology, which began on Jan 24, concluded here today.

According to a Press release, the session, which was presided over by its Chairman, Mr Justice Dr Tanzilur Rahman, made further progress in the modification of a new Islamic law of evidence. The Council also finalised its report on the Evidence Act, 1872. The report will now be presented to the President in a few days.

Besides, a number of the existing laws also came under consideration during the session. These laws include the Christian Marriages Act, 1872, the Special Marriages Act, 1872, the Oaths Act, 1872, the Punjab Laws Act, 1872, the Majority Act, 1875, the Dramatic Performance Act, 1876, the Treasures-Trove Act, 1878,

and the Opium Act, 1878. These laws were examined from the Islamic point of view and a number of amendments were proposed therein.

The next meeting of the council is scheduled to be held in March, when further work on the codification of Islamic law of evidence will be taken up. In addition, the Council will also consider various replies received relating to the Islamic structure of a state with reference to general elections.

It may be recalled that the Council, in the light of the instructions of the President, had issued in December 1981 a 21-point questionnaire to constitutional experts, Ulama and intellectuals. The last date for receipt of replies to the questionnaire was fixed as Jan 31, 1982, which expired today.—APP

CSO: 4220/232

PARADOX OF HEALTH NEEDS, GLUT OF DOCTORS NOTED

Karachi DAWN in English 31 Jan 82 p 7

[Editorial: "The Paradox of a Glut"]

[Text]

ACCORDING to what the health authorities have to say, there is a glut of doctors in Pakistan. Paradoxical though this might seem in the context of a country where an overwhelming majority of the population is without the basic health cover, the Government's policy now appears to be directed towards regulating the availability of fresh medical graduates aspiring for a job. First, the Federal Health Ministry has reportedly proposed a ten per cent cut in the number of seats available for admission to the medical colleges. Secondly, in order to cope with the problem of 'over-production' the Government has lifted the curb on doctors leaving the country to take up jobs abroad. But the free outflow of medical graduates can at best have a marginal effect. Thirdly, pressure on the Government to provide jobs to doctors has been eased a bit by the fact that large numbers of fresh medical graduates stay without house jobs and are thus unable to claim the basic qualification for employment. That the proposal for an ad hoc reduction in the number of admissions to the medical colleges has not been well received is understandable. The matter

involves regional and sub-regional aspirations. This, in the first place, is what led in the past to the indecent haste with which the seats were increased. Now the problem is one of absorbing the pressure. It is possible to argue in theory that a cut in the number of seats will help improve the quality of instruction. In practice a marked improvement in the quality of medical education will result only from positive efforts towards the colleges' better management, mobilisation of more and better teachers and the provision of modern equipment for the teaching hospitals. Another explanation for the proposed cut perhaps lies in the difficulty the authorities face in providing house jobs for all the fresh medical graduates.

In a memorandum to the Government, the Action Committee of the Dow Medical College Students has revealed that of the 261 students who were declared successful in January 1982 in the final year examination, only 148 have been offered house jobs (salary 900 per month) and the rest have had to be satisfied with honorary jobs. Only 90 graduates out of the 163 who passed from the Sind Medical College have

been given house jobs. This is sheer economic waste, quite apart from being a source of great frustration and distress to the graduates and their parents. But the problem does not really present insuperable difficulties. Given the will, it can be solved by expanding the capacities of the two teaching hospitals or upgrading other major hospitals for this purpose. In Karachi alone, three hospitals are believed to fall into this category, namely, the K.V. Site Hospital, Abbasi Shaheed Hospital and the Liaquat National Hospital. In terms of staff, equipment and other facilities, they are more or less competent to take in internees for training. If they are properly reorganised these institutions can be converted, without much difficulty, into teaching hospitals.

In the medium term the need is not for limiting the number of medical graduates but for expanding the national health delivery system in a planned and orderly manner, which will absorb all the medical talent available. As it is, the health delivery system in the country is most inadequate and does not fully extend to the third tier. Many small towns and the bulk of the

rural areas still remain well beyond the reach of health cover. As we have pointed out earlier in these columns, the Government has to give speedy and increasing attention to meeting this requirement and putting together the organisational infrastructure for a rural health programme which should extend to the Teh-

sil level. The first step has to be the formulation of a well-thought-out policy, instead of recourse to ad hoc measures.

This will naturally include an assessment of the number of doctors required over the years and the planning of medical education. Outside the official framework, the Government can

also encourage doctors who wish to set up their clinics in small towns and rural areas by providing them with loans on easy terms, land at nominal rates to build clinics and facilities to acquire equipment. A broad-based and integrated approach is called for if the problem of what to do with our medical graduates is to be resolved.

NINE PUNJAB DISTRICTS DECLARED DEVELOPED

Karachi DAWN in English 31 Jan 82 p 10

[Text]

ATTOCK, Jan 30 The Punjab Government has declared nine districts as developed, while remaining 12 districts of the province as less developed.

According to a report the Government will spend Rs 40 million on different rural development schemes during current fiscal year under the head of matching grant.

In this connection the rural public will also contribute Rs 40 million on self-help basis. Out of Rs 40 million Government grant only Rs 16 million will be spent in nine developed districts, namely Gujrat, Faisalabad, Sargodha, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Sheikhupura, Multan and Sahiwal, while the sum of Rs 24 million has been earmarked for the development of 12 less developed districts, namely Rawalpindi, Attock, Jhelum, Mianwali, Jhang, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar, Rahimyar Khan, Kasur and Vehari.

According to the report, the Government has earmarked 40 per cent grant for developed

and 60 per cent for less developed districts. The 70 per cent grant has been distributed among all the districts of the province on equal basis, while 30 per cent on population basis, the report added.

The districtwise grant of developed districts is Rs 17,21,558 for Gujrat, Rs 21,83,651 for Faisalabad, Rs 17,17,29 for Sargodha, Rs 13,50,010 for Lahore, Rs 16,77,086 for Gujranwala, Rs 18,21,987 for Sialkot, Rs 15,50,004 for Sheikhupura, Rs 19,38,615 for Multan, Rs 19,20,356 for Sahiwal.

The grant for less developed districts is Rs 19,79,324 for Rawalpindi, Rs 19,09,876 for Attock, Rs 19,24,115 for Jhelum, Rs 19,10,400 for Mianwali, Rs 12,15,794 for Jhang, Rs 19,91,196 for Dera Ghazi Khan, Rs 22,57,708 for Muzaffargarh, Rs 19,02,180 for Bahawalpur, Rs 19,40,148 for Bahawalnagar, Rs 21,09,315 for Rahimyar Khan, Rs 19,71,607 for Kasur and Rs 19,46,084 for Vehari, the report concluded.—PPI

EDUCATIONAL UPLIFT IN BALUCHISTAN OUTLINED

Karachi DAWN in English 31 Jan 82 p 10

[Text]

QUETTA, Jan 30: Mr. Pateh Khan Khajjak, provincial Secretary, Education, has said that the spread of education was the most effective way to put Baluchistan on the path of development and prosperity and bringing it at par with other provinces.

Speaking at a radio news conference, he said since independence changes have been made in the system of education strictly in accordance with the Islamic teachings, significant expansion has been carried out in all tiers of education, he said.

He said that the education budget of Baluchistan has been increased from Rs 6,916,27 spent at the time of partition to over Rs 220 million allocated this year.

Presenting the picture of the development which has been achieved in the field of education since partition, Mr. Khajjak said that the number of primary schools has shot up from 136 to 2,620, the middle schools from 16 to 236 and high schools from 11 to 156.

At the time of partition there was only one intermediate college in the province and there are now 28 colleges, one polytechnic institute, five teachers training centres, one commercial institute and one university.

With the increase in educational institutions the number of students have also gone up considerably. There are, at present, about two lakh girl and boy students who are getting education in these institutions, he stated.

He said that this pace of the educational expansion was being enhanced every year, 100 primary schools are being opened in the province each year, besides "Masjid" and "Mohalla" schools are also being set up, he said.

Mr. Khajjak further said that a programme had been launched on experimental basis in the four districts of Baluchistan—Quetta, Pishin, Chaghi and Lasbela for further strengthening of the primary education.

It includes construction of more rooms in primary schools, giving training to teachers in accordance with the new curriculum and providing sufficient quantity of furniture and teaching equipment.

Besides increasing the number of schools, every year 15 primary schools, are being raised to middle standard and four middle schools to that of high schools.

Agro-Technical Subjects

The Education Secretary said that agro-technical subjects were being introduced into the schools, under a phased programme to make the secondary education purposeful and teach the students different types of skill involving an expenditure of Rs 4.7 million.

Under this programme industrial arts, agricultural and home economics workshops are being established in various schools of the province. An agro-technical teachers training school has been opened in Quetta for imparting training among the teachers in these subjects.

The Education Secretary said that due attention is being given to the training of the teachers. The government teachers training schools at Quetta and Mastung and Government teachers training schools for women have been raised to that of elementary college.

He further said that with the co-operation of the World Bank, modern buildings had been provided for the elementary colleges of Mastung and Pishin at a

cost of Rs 16 million. These include residential accommodation for teachers and hostels for the undertraining teachers, teaching equipment and furniture.

The Education Secretary pointed out to the incentives provided for meeting the shortage of the science teachers. These included sanctioning of science allowance, and increase of Rs 200 in pay to the science teachers coming from other provinces besides giving them the science allowance, and a grant of Rs 1000 as travelling expenses to them every year for visiting their homes. Besides, three months training is being given to FSC pass JET teachers under crash programme to enable them to teach science subject to high school classes, he said. An amount of Rs 8.3 million has been spent this year on construction of residential accommodation for the teachers, he added.

Mr. Khajjak also said that a project costing Rs 22,50,000 has been launched for construction of hostels for the students. Eight hostels have already been built and another was under construction.

Besides, buildings have been constructed for 21 primary, 15 middle and four high schools. So far 1000 Purca buildings have been constructed for primary schools. Rs 5.4 million have been given to the district councils for teaching equipment, he said.

The Education Secretary further told that the Federal Government had provided an amount of Rs 35 million for improving the condition of the existing colleges in the province.

Under this programme the condition of six degree colleges have been improved and in the record phase four remaining degree colleges and two intermediate colleges would be taken

up. Beside a building for the girls college at Sibi, which includes hostel, residential accommodation for the employees and laboratories etc was being constructed. The provincial government is also spending a handsome amount from its own sources on various colleges.

This year Rs 15 lakh have been provided for science labo-

ratories in intermediate college Harnai, Rs 1 million for provision of books in the libraries and another Rs eight lakh for science equipment in the colleges.

The Secretary also told that a project has been launched with the co-operation of the Asian Bank for the construction of residential accommodation for

teachers in the polytechnic institute and provision of machinery for its workshop, opening of additional technology and training of teachers involving a total expenditure of Rs 9.5 million he said.

Every year scholarships to the tune of Rs 7 million are given to students and 13 buses have been provided for transport.

COTTON PRODUCTION DOWN 1.9 PERCENT

Karachi DAWN in English 1 Feb 82 p 8

[Text]

The production of cotton (lint) for 1980-81, has been finally estimated at 4,201,000 bales against 4,282,000 bales produced during the previous year indicating a decrease of 1.9 per cent, according to an official notification.

In the Punjab, the area under the crop is estimated at 1,506,200 hectares this year as compared to 1,481,100 hectares of the previous year showing an increase of 1.7 per cent.

The production of the crop, however, shows a decline of 1.5 per cent. It stands at 2,789,300 bales as against 2,831,600 bales of the previous years. The increase in areas is attributed to better return during last year.

In Sind, the area under cotton crop is estimated at 509,000 hectares as against 507,000 hectares

during 1979-80 showing thereby a nominal increase of 0.3 per cent. The production, however, registered a decrease of 2.8 per cent. It is estimated at 1,406,900 bales as compared to 1,447,300 bales of the previous year.

The area and production of cotton crop in the NWFP are estimated at 2,300 hectares and 2,800 bales, respectively, as compared to previous year figures of 2,200 hectares and 2,600 bales. It indicates an increase of 4.5 per cent in areas and 7.7 per cent in production.

In Baluchistan, cotton is cultivated on a small scale. Its area and production during 1980-81 are estimated at 1,000 hectares and 2,000 bales as compared to 200 hectares and 500 bales during 1979-80.—APP.

BRIEFS

PAGARO CALLS FOR ALLIANCE--Hyderabad, Jan 30: Pir Sahib Pagaro, chief of the defunct Pakistan Muslim League (Pagaro group), said today that "we want an alliance of patriotic groups for playing a positive role in the country's politics." Talking to citizens' delegations at the residence of Rais Ali Akbar Nizamani in Matli, about 14 kilometres from here, he said he believed in peaceful struggle and wanted to work for the solidarity of Pakistan and cause of Islam. He said that as Pakistanis "we must fulfil our responsibilities towards the geographical and ideological frontiers of Pakistan." Earlier addressing a gathering of his disciples [as published] at the same place, Pir Pagaro said there should be unity among people for the solidarity and integrity of the country. He said all problems faced by the nation could be solved by following Islamic teachings. He urged his "mureeds" to fulfil their responsibilities towards religion and society.--PPI. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 31 Jan 82 p 12]

SUGAR MILL AT BADIN--The Senior Minister of Sind, Mir Rasul Bux Talpur, on Saturday said that Badin sugar mill will soon go into production and boost the economy of the district. He was talking to abadgars at Dhamalo, near here. The Senior Minister said that the industrialists who have been granted permission to set up a sugar mill at Tando Ghulam Ali will be asked to start work otherwise permission will be withdrawn. The permission was granted by the Government about three years back but so far no work has started yet. The Senior Minister also witnessed excavation being done in Nasirwah Canal in the area on which latest machines are being employed. Mr Talpur expressed satisfaction over the excavation work and said that it will improve water supply in the area. The Minister also listened to the problems being faced by the abadgars of the area and assured them of full Government support. The abadgars told the Minister that WAPDA was not providing power connections to the villages in the area although the villages in other parts of the region have been provided connections.--PPI [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 1 Feb 82 p 7]

LEADER OPTIMISTIC ABOUT ALLIANCE--Shuttling between the leaders of the defunct political parties continued in Karachi on Sunday as prospects "brightened for a understanding", Khwaja Khairuddin, President of the defunct Pakistan Muslim League (Khairuddin Group), said in Karachi. He told DAWN it was not hammering out an alliance but the agreement on a "minimum programme" whereby "we can have the democratic process restored." Khwaja Khairuddin, whose Muslim League group is a member-party of the MRD, called on Pir Pagaro on Saturday and had separate talks on Sunday with Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, and Shah Faridul Haq. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 1 Feb 82 p 3]

GEN SAIYUT INTERVIEWED ON ISOC, SECURITY STRATEGY

Bangkok PATINYA in Thai 12 Oct 81 pp 20-29

[Special interview with Supreme Commander General Saiyut Kertphon, exclusive to PATINYA: date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The Internal Security Operations Command was set up in 1965 by the government to allow different work units to join together to combat communism. Why haven't the communists been wiped out?

[Answer] As far as defense and suppression of communists is concerned, the unit that is responsible for this job is ISOC under the director for the suppression of communism. I will give my views only as one who has had experience in communist suppression. I understand that the way ISOC carries out its work is by concentrating on people. In other words, politics is used to guide the military. This approach to the problem was used mainly in rural areas where it seemed to work quite well. However, there are still communists as well as the Communist Party of Thailand. At the present time they have changed their strategy and tactics in three strategic areas: deemphasizing the jungle, emphasizing the towns and the plains. It was in the style of Nicaragua. We have to improve our operations to catch up with theirs. I believe it is something we must continue to do. However, if we are able to improve our intelligence gathering, follow up their operations all the time, and readjust our plans to keep up with them, especially in the towns where they have poured in then I think that this problem can be solved. Or at least, we should try to control their operations so they will not be dangerous.

[Question] Do you think that the problem of communism and terrorism in our nation will be very much prolonged as our main problem, or will the government be able to defeat communism quickly, according to Government Order No. 66/1980?

[Answer] I will not criticize or say much. Let me put it this way. What I said was that ISOC is responsible for communist suppression. ISOC has probably improved its operations. I just want to give my opinion based on my own experience concerning ISOC's operation that we carried out by using the CPM [Civil-Police-Military Units] by concentrating on the people, and by having politics guide the military. Whatever we do to reach these three goals will be considered effective, because we will be able to control the growth of communist terrorists, and prevent them from following their old plan of using the jungle or the rural areas to operate in towns. This has made them change to a new plan. I believe the strategy in the three areas is the communists' new technique, and that we must improve ours to keep up with them.

[Question] As supreme commander, what do you think are the urgent problems in developing our national security? What should be emphasized as being most important, and what would be secondary?

[Answer] In terms of national security, I think that in the Fifth Plan for National Economic and Social Development we have studied and worked closely with the related units in all the armed services, and have also consulted with experts in economic development. I feel that in the fifth plan we must make the most use of our limited economy so that our country, Thailand, can survive and maintain its stability. This depends on the military budget, at least the same amount as we have had in the last five years. We might have more money because of aid from the United States. Therefore, in order to strengthen both our internal and external national security with a limited budget, I had pointed out an idea that seemed to be acceptable, which was to use a fully-integrated defense or total defense, where the economy and defense would support each other. This integrated power characterizes the national defense. We do not look at this as only regular military forces--the army, navy, and air force. This group is called the strategy to strengthen the defense force (strategic force). However, we must also look at another national defense force--the security forces in all areas, for example, the police, and para-military forces such as the territorial defense groups. The Territorial Force is a group of volunteers to protect the territory, and is called an area defense force. Another group is the civil defense force (civil defense) which works voluntarily in fire protection, public disasters, etc., including self-defense and the use of legal weapons such as rifles and pistols. The situation nowadays indicates the Thai people have good morale. Everybody wants to make sacrifices to protect the country. Therefore, we have to integrate these three forces together, and not emphasize just one of them. We still believe that appropriate emphasis should be placed on national development, for example development along the border where several important villages and subdistricts are located. We try to introduce development into those areas so that people will have self-confidence and a peaceful life. This is included in the idea that national safety and security are the individual's safety and security. If individuals are safe they will protect their own country. In addition, the development of roads and water sources, etc., should be thought of in terms of military benefits. For example, in building roads, digging water sources, etc., we must aim for military benefits, such as whether they would strengthen or weaken the military. This is something we have to study.

[Question] How does the Total Defense operate?

[Answer] We must understand that this type of operation depends on the officials involved using the operation seriously and correctly. The term CPM I had mentioned earlier referred to the system for integrating the civil, police, and military forces in order to protect internal security (Internal Security System).

Now in talking about the Total Force, we include both internal and external security, the economy, border defense, and also internal defense. So the term Total Force is used later on in the same framework. If we break it down only to internal defense we would call it internal security. To be able to do this we must understand the first step, which I shall do now. We must understand what is involved in integration when we refer to the Total Force. In actual defense the three forces I mentioned before are as follows:

1. strategy to strengthen the defense force (Strategic Defense)
2. area defense force (Territorial Defense)
3. civil defense force (Civil Defense).

The actual groups we already have are Volunteer Defense Corps, Thai Resistance Volunteers for National Defense, People's Volunteers for Development and Self-Defense, People's Volunteers for Territorial Force, Thahan Phran Irregulars, light infantry, and many more. I was the one who set up all these, and the Village Scouts as well. Based on the three forces mentioned above, we put these groups in their proper places. The names are not important. We have to sort out these groups. The ones that are operating now must have conditions (Term Reference). Their conditions are what their task is, what they are for, what kinds of weapons they have, how they dress, what their advantages are, and how to control them. They have to be well-arranged first. Meanwhile, as far as organization is concerned, we pointed out that now there is one condition which we called Total Force. In this form we must consider the organization by using a simple principle that whatever unit is set up for whatever purpose, it must perform that task. Don't use an expensive unit to perform an inexpensive job, or use an inexpensive unit to do an expensive job. That would not be right. It would be an error in organization. Using an expensive unit to do an inexpensive job might obtain a good result, but it would cost too much, much more than is necessary. So we must use an appropriate middle ground. If an inexpensive unit is used to do an expensive job, it will not be effective. Then the unit will be accused of being a failure, when the fact is that we misused it. If this is how much we can do, this much we will do. We must put things in the right places. Then we have to figure out how much the different units cost per capita per day, month, and year. For the units mentioned previously, we have not yet figured out the exact costs. In terms of designations only there are as many as thirty to forty groups. How do these groups perform? If they do a certain task the cost will be very cheap for one such as the Thai Resistance Volunteers for National Defense; the Volunteer Defense Corps are the cheapest. The Volunteer irregulars and the Light Infantry Regiment are a little bit higher. The cost varies. We can see how much these groups cost, and then put these people to do the right job. If we only want to protect a bridge or guard power lines we do not need the expensive ones; a cheap one will do. Put them in the right places. Next, for the second step which is being done now, we have to sort out each individual force because they are different in terms of their goals, training, and setup. Therefore, these three forces must have their own line of work. How does each line fit in overall? How can we integrate these forces into one system so that they can be used to maintain security?

As for security, I also persuaded them to specify clearly what is what, since there are so many. When I look at the Infrastructure there should be three groups. They are the National Infrastructure, and another is Rural Development. If we put a lot of time into the national infrastructure, we cannot react quickly enough to events, because the communists have already been working in the rural areas. We must use Rural Development together with Infrastructure. Meanwhile, however, this is still not enough, so another group was formed called Accelerated Development. We already know how the first two groups go together. I think the real result is the economic effect. But the Accelerated Development or whatever it's called that we are doing now still exists, such as people who go in a group to dig a well, or whatever. This

has no economic effect; instead its effect is political and psychological. As soon as the people said there was no water, the next day they got it. People working in groups like this have been seen all over. The Central Security Division does it, the Department of Health does it, they all do it. However, we have to understand that its goal is a political one; it is not primarily an economic purpose. Whenever a task is accomplished, that is the end of it. The government also moves fast, as when people said they wanted to see the prime minister, and he would be there the next day. It has a political effect and it has to be done. We have to go along. However, this kind of activity must be kept to a minimum. It is not that we put all of the money in this. If we will work on the first two structures, then we cannot keep up with these. In terms of the economy, what I see is also confusing. We want it to be like this no matter who does it, such as the work done by the Central Security Division, both in accelerated development, and in normal rural development. We don't care what unit does the job, but the fact is we must control their funding. We must have money in three purses. Whoever does the job of the National Infrastructure will have one purse; there is one purse for Rural Development, and another one for Accelerated Development. We will look at how much we spent last year, morale, willpower, and politics. Right now, I see it is as confusing as the security system. If we summarize now, the fact is that we have not yet seriously organized our system. What I have said right now would not have been understood ten years ago. They would have laughed, but now people do understand. Now is the time to organize our system in the right way. In the past we just used our resources in a confused manner. As we have seen, the arrangement is very complex, so things must be clarified.

[Question] Are things starting to take shape now?

[Answer] We are working on it. I believe we must do it gradually. Now we are working on it little by little, and I think everything will fall into place. I think I can do what everybody wants. I still think about building a model somewhere. Meanwhile, however, we do not just wait, but we work. For example, when I went to help on the Khao Kho project I went parachute jumping. Take the Rotary who want to work, but who now have nothing to do. Now, I have not been associated with the Rotary people for a long time. There was no one to lead these people, and they asked me to go. They are the ones who have money but are afraid of danger. However, they want to do something useful. They want to make sure that what they do is useful and will improve security and the economy. They have money, and they are not afraid to spend it. They asked where we should spend the money, and I spread out the whole map of Thailand. I told them there were two trouble spots. The first is at Khao Kho, Petchabun, which is the junction of three provinces. That area contains a subdistrict which the enemy is interested in. If they were to come that way they could enter the central region. The other spot is around Prachinburi and Korat, which was published and discussed in THE NATION [REVIEW]. Some of the enemy are in this area. If their influence is strong they can enter that area no matter who owns it, and they could seize control over important villages along the road from Prachinburi province. We have to develop that area. We don't want to let anybody come in. However, the communists have now entered this area. What can we do? Two things we can do are to develop it and maintain security. Khao Kho Mountain is able to maintain its security. If development does not get there, they will be back again. Before this, they did not leave the area. We have been doing this for many years. They went into the jungle, came out, and stayed in the same place. At that time the soldiers said

they would not go there. Pichit (Major General Pichit Kunlawanit) was there. It was clear to me that if there was no unit for this job we could not make things work. Mr Pichit proposed this idea to his majesty the king, and this proposal was accepted. This means that by now the unit has already left, and they remain out there without retreating. Otherwise, as soon as the food allowance was all used up they would have to return. The people would not be able to stay there, and they would flee once more. As a result, we would lose the population base. But if our side still has people carrying weapons who cause trouble for the enemy, the other side will wait until they see that we probably cannot keep it up any more. The other side will come back again if we withdraw, because when we were there our effectiveness was extremely limited. These people are military officers, sublieutenants and lieutenants, and they are our sons. They were stationed in remote areas. How do they feel inside when they walk by themselves in isolated areas? In a case like this we will build roads into the area; then more people are moved in to build schools, etc. It would be very good if they could remain there, and even better if it were a comfortable town. If this could be done it would build up the actual population base. There would be no way for the other side to do anything, as this example shows. This then is the way I try to help people to understand, and we all have to work together. Right now there is a coordinating committee, which is one project in the five year plan, whose purpose is to determine how we should operate. We have agreed that we have to integrate our forces, and so we know what to do first. Now, how can we integrate our forces? We have to find a mode of operation that works.

How the Economy Might Support Defense

If we follow this mode of operation, nothing will work. In other words, if we accept the economy as an important issue, then when the economy fails other things would fail also. Therefore, when we believe in an important role for the economy, we accept the idea that the military will not borrow money to buy weapons as before. If we do that, we know we are very much at a disadvantage. The amount of interest is high, and the money has to be paid back quickly. We will change our way of doing things. The results of our economic development should be expressed as a percent for use in developing our country. It should be done this way, and if so, it is the economic committee's duty to see that our economy improves. Right now I think it is probably better, even though there are still some rough spots. I can further picture how the oil situation might be better in the future, and also how our gas situation might improve. Then we can control expenses, as mentioned earlier and the economy will certainly improve. When the economy improves, the percent to be used for developing our country will increase. One more thing is that if we can prove our ability to lift our budget efficiently, for example, the integrated forces we have, etc., others will help us; our allies will be interested in helping us. They are trying to help us, and they are glad to help us reduce our disadvantages, but beyond this I think they will help us even more. For example, in terms of credit, the US gave us fifty million dollars in aid this year, and they will give us eighty million dollars next year. I also think this will increase steadily. However, we have to add our baht to this amount. We estimate it could be increased later to perhaps two hundred million dollars. We think our economy will be able to absorb it, but the increase must be gradual.

I also know they will improve the way of giving aid by doing it in two ways. There are two types of loans under which we have borrowed. The things we weren't interested in we brought up with them and they agreed. The type of loan we have now is a

guarantee loan. The interest rises and falls depending on the world market. The most recent interest rate was as high as 14 percent. This was said to be on the low side, but for us it was still high. Another type of loan is the direct loan. The interest rate is not more than 3 percent, and the debt will be cleared after twenty years. We might be able to ask them to convert some of our loans to direct loans. As far as I know, a committee in the congress will try to propose this. We will tell them that, as they can see, Thailand has cooperated with the free world, and the obvious aggressors are the communists who make use of the Vietnamese. However, it is not only the Vietnamese who are so dangerous, but the supplies that are given to them by the Soviets, and we will become the ones who will have to shoulder the burden. If we have to pay for everything without any assistance we will not be able to make it. Therefore, they might see that this is important, and might improve the terms. We will propose the budget and the reasons why we need their help. There are two types of aid. One would be grant aid. Another type is loans, which we have now. We think the US will give us eighty million dollars next year. It is possible, but it is not yet certain. We would like it to be a fifty-million dollar guarantee loan which is the same loan we have now, and thirty million dollars grant aid. This will help our expenses and improve the economy in which we are going to be operating over the next five years.

[Question] Is the loan of primary or secondary importance?

[Answer] I feel that it is of secondary importance. When we obtained loans before, we lost. Why? Because we paid high interest plus many other things, and we have to pay it back. It has not been 10 years yet, and we still have to pay it back. This year we have to pay back on every single one. Later we will not have any money and then we won't get loans or make purchases. Besides economic aid, e.g., a decrease in the interest rate as the law allows, and even though we improve the terms in other respects, we will ask for grant aid. The reason is that if we were on our own without the Vietnamese and the aid given to them by the Soviets, we would have no need to defend ourselves. Thus, most of the money would be for large-scale investment in economic growth, which would then be used for national development. Other money would be used to improve our defenses in terms of integrating our forces.

[Question] It has been said many times that the reason for the military factionalism was the military's involvement in politics. In your opinion, do you think the military should take a political role or not? And if so, in what form? What is the relationship between the military and the people?

[Answer] I feel that the military does not want to get involved in politics, but that the situation has forced them to do so. It is true that in terms of structure the military and politics must be kept separate, but when the situation forces them to interfere in politics it may cause some problems. However, as military men we are trying to keep ourselves from interfering with politics, just as the prime minister is doing now, for example, in government matters. This did not work out, so he tries to separate these two as much as possible. Now as for within the military, it is involved in military matters, and there is no problem because our military emphasizes the strengthening of our forces and unity. I am going to publish something so that the military itself and the people will understand that there are thousands and thousands of soldiers, and these men must carry out duties in which they risk their lives whenever they are ordered to do so. My point is that thousands and thousands of these soldiers are strongly united because of the administrative system called

the military chain of command. Therefore, we have to build up our chain of command. In theory we would not try to destroy our chain of command as this would weaken our administrative system. We must strengthen our chain of command, and make it strong, make sacrifices, and base it on justice. This is our basic principle, which everyone understands. It has to be emphasized more. Everybody will turn to building up his own unit, no matter what unit it is. If that unit has high morale, the unit will feel that its work is more meaningful. This is what's important. Therefore, it is up to the superiors to build up morale in the unit. By this I mean building up loyalty to the unit in everyone, so that they will see the importance of the unit is more than the insignia colors, etc.

[Question] At what level will we limit our outside political roles?

[Answer] Unless the situation forces us to do so, as I mentioned before, then we get involved. However, if not, then we try not to get involved. I have to try to do this myself. If it is a military matter it is absolutely up to us whatever we want to do, and how we want to do it, because it is our business. But if it belongs to politics or government we should let government take care of it. I don't want to say much about my opinions, but if I were asked whether the government should be improved, this would not be a military duty. In talking about opinions, as soon as we give our views it means we are getting involved in politics, so we should not give our opinions. Or, in some cases, it is mainly duty, as when we are honored to be assigned to foreign countries, e.g., to be on a border committee, or in foreign relations, etc. In this we give our views, but the fact is that foreign affairs is the foreign minister's job, or the foreign ministry's job. We should not give too many opinions because if our opinions were opposed to others it would create problems. No matter how much responsibility we have, we should work within the limitations of our job. We should not get involved in matters outside our responsibility, especially politics, administration, or whatever. I think that in the principles of administration for either military or civilians our weak point is that we never set definite limits as to who is responsible for what. Who is the one who is supposed to carry it out? Whoever is responsible should be the one to carry it out. However, we should cooperate and help each other.

[Question] It has been said in business and political circles and in some military groups that due to the problem of economic depression the number of crimes has increased, and the military should exercise their absolute power to administer the country for 4-8 years in order to solve these problems first. Democracy would then come about later. What is your comment on this?

[Answer] This is a political problem. Let us say briefly that there have already been examples of this. If it can be done, it is all right. But if not, let that be a lesson. However, in my opinion, there are two ways to keep order and peace within a country, one concerning security, and the other concerning the economy. Now, which of the two should be done first?

In my opinion, security comes first, and then the economy will follow. I have been talking about this for over 10 years. But if we talk about security, there are two main aspects--security and development.

Is security development? If it is not, then we say so. Thus, we can see that if we choose security, this will be a lot easier to do than the economy, because there are a lot of problems in the economy. If we choose security we must hold to the principle that, in a normal situation, I think we all have to share responsibility among the civilians, police, and military, including the people. That is, we have to have intergroup cooperation between the civilians, police, military, and people's volunteer forces to help each other, not just one. I think that if we can do this then when there is security the economy will grow. Now, the economy must subsidize security. We must pay for the cost of security, which is very expensive.

[Question] To build up true security, the key to integrating the forces of the people and officials must be that the political, administrative, and economic systems have to be in such a way that the majority of the people would accept and support them.

Is it necessary to exercise absolute administrative power in order to maintain security?

[Answer] If we share our responsibility, it does not have to be absolute; it must be shared. We have already had examples of the authoritarian approach which could not really solve any problems. If you think about it, we are actually learning from the real thing.

[Question] In solving the economic problems in order to create stability, security, and justice, and to ease the hardship of the poor, is it necessary to change the economic structure more towards socialism?

[Answer] In my opinion, the only thing is that we use capitalism and liberalism, which has some part in it, because there is a lot of competition in capitalism. Therefore, the one who has more money and more power has a sort of advantage over the others. This is how capitalism and liberalism began. In the end, it is so obvious that between the developing countries and communist countries capitalism is capable of maintaining higher production than in communist countries, where a controlled system is used and results in such low production that it is not sufficient to feed their people. Isn't that right? For the beginning structure mentioned earlier, I think the main problem that capitalism has to confront besides free competition is that cooperatives must be set up for control. There must be a controlled type of liberalism. What this means is to be able to control the problem of bigger investors from using their power and money to their own advantage. Since for cooperation people have to come together, producer to producer, salesperson to salesperson, and consumer to consumer, this is difficult to do at the beginning. I think many people understand this problem, so they try to form groups. Consumer groups must also unite together. We would not want anyone taking advantage of us. If we did not buy anything, they would not be able to stay in business, but for this to happen everyone would have to join the boycott. We conclude that capitalism has to be controllable.

But how can we exercise control? In the general principle that I have seen the cooperative policy which is used has to be clear, otherwise people would not feel confident in making a large investment, and later they might raise some questions about it. When their confidence is lost it would be difficult to operate. If we are to inspire confidence we must speak clearly saying that we won't have socialism,

where everything would be a state enterprise. However, we have to control and prevent exploitation. I believe that using the technique of control for developing countries such as we see in Burma, etc makes it worse. The reason is that people are already restricted, and our government runs the government activity. We are already in a bad position, and then we would have to do everything. I think it would be difficult. Right now the current is stronger because the French are in favor of it, and are practicing it. Wait and see whether the French will be able to carry on better or worse; this is something which we cannot see now.

[Question] In your opinion, in terms of our national security should Thailand stand on its own two feet and be neutral, or should we continue our policy of alliance with the US and ASEAN?

[Answer] I believe in the idea that we cannot live by ourselves, but at the same time we cannot depend only on others. This conforms with the principle of security. So as far as security is concerned, one must be responsible for his own security. I have already used this principle. In practice, whoever's security is at stake has to depend on that person and how he wants to obtain it--buy it, hire it, or ask for help. That's wrong; that's not the principle of security. The principle of security must depend on us ourselves. For example, when I was working in ISOC trying to suppress the communists, a teacher named Mr Tip Sunkate became a very popular hero because he shot a communist. Everyone was so afraid of the communists, and he was the first person who fought them. The king wanted to see him and gave him some kind of medal--I don't remember exactly what kind of medal it was--and he was acclaimed by the public. But then there was a problem because of what he had done to the communists, and there was a chance he would be killed by them. The responsibility for this fell to me. Here I used this principle. His Majesty had asked me to take good care of him, so I had even more responsibility. Everybody thought he was my responsibility because I was there. So I used this same principle by telling Mr Tip that the government, the prime minister, the deputy premier, the army commander-in-chief, all these people were worried that he might be in danger. I told him that His Majesty was worried and had asked me to help take care of him. I told him that his safety was up to him as to how he wanted it to be done. I could do whatever he wanted. If he wanted men to follow him or soldiers to stand guarding him when he slept, I could do that. If he preferred to remain there in the same area, and not be afraid, I could do that, too, or if he chose to leave the area temporarily. It was up to him what he wanted to do. However, if he wanted my view (I persuaded him a little), I thought he should first leave the area temporarily. He did not want to leave. He wanted to stay there, and he asked for some men and guns to guard him. He could stay, but we were not so sure he might not slip up, so I told him he should get out first and then we would figure out how to do it. It was easy this way, because once he left the area the communists would not recognize him and they would not be able to do anything to him. If he stayed in the area, all the villagers would know about him. Finally, he agreed to leave, so we created a situation where we hired him to work for us. At that time we were training some people at Hua Hin. We hired him as a consultant to tell his experiences. He also brought his family along, and there was nothing wrong with that. It didn't have any effect on our psychology. We used that trick sometimes when we were afraid. He stayed with us five to six months; then he missed his home and his environment, and he thought he could go back if there were men to protect him. I asked him who he wanted for his guards, and how many. We had a number of guards in the village.

He went to look at them, and agreed to take them. We paid the men, and then he went back to the village. I told him he had to be careful. He said he would be all right. He went to be with several of his wives, going from one house to another. The people did not know. I told him it was all right if he wanted it that way. He went back, and managed it all right. This depended on that person's decision; we helped to guide him. I had used the same idea in our nation many times. You don't have to say what others have said, or whatever, which is not right. It is our national principle to depend on ourselves. This is the only scale we can work on. We have many ways to do things, and many defense strategies. We select one of them, and then we consider it within the framework of possibility. It is not right that with only a limited amount of money we should think about building electric cars, or rockets, or whatever, so that people can laugh at us. We consider the situations that are possible. As far as others are concerned, we all have to depend on each other. In this case, we are afraid that the Vietnamese may invade us, and the US is afraid that the Soviet Union would have influence in this area. So we have a common interest, but it does not mean that they would come to help us, do you understand? It was only because of common interests. If the Soviets had power in this area ships could not pass through the Straits of Malacca. This would create an imbalance, and everything would be upset. Now, if we start to have our policy like this and others think it is good, then they would come to help on their own. The assistance will come by itself. As far as their helping us is concerned, it is our job to decide which way to let them help, and which way not to. We should not accept everything from whoever offers it. It is up to us if we have the right train of thought. Our idea is right as to what we should take and what we should not. But if there are others who come to help, as in a chess game, they might play through the whole game. If it was lost, he could say to us that we had lost the game even though we did not play the game ourselves. You can call this whatever you want; however, we must have our own basic idea of how we want it, and by which we have to make our own decisions. We will let others help us in important and useful matters. It would not be good if we reject all assistance from someone, and then accept another's help. From this we conclude that we have to stand on our own first.

[Question] But can our fighting forces stand on their own feet?

[Answer] For the principle concerning men and weapons, the question is which one is more important. The indication is that men are more important than weapons. Therefore, if we want to help ourselves we have to consider our men. Our ideas are important things to have in mind, because we are in this area, and we have to know it. This depends on the principle of security, and the principle of security depends on the mind, or belief. It is something that is intangible. Therefore, a person knows his own security better than anyone else, because it is a matter of the mind.

[Question] How can you create this feeling?

[Answer] Through the total force, of course. As soon as we know how we want our security and what we lack in terms of security, then we have to think about finding some tools we can afford which would be additional items to help strengthen it. Then we must work seriously on it.

[Question] Do you think we would be able to stay neutral? Are we strong enough?

[Answer] I want you to know that the term neutral is easy to misunderstand. However, in this case it means we will not become a tool for any side. This meaning seems appropriate because the whole story starts from conflict. Conflicts start from conflicting interests. Each nation's interests are in conflict with each other, although it might be possible to combine some of them. Therefore, we think that what might be harmful to us is that the great powers, which have conflicts in our area, might use us as their tool. This is dangerous. As for any conflicts among us who are small in size, if you win a boxing match it means you can fight, but if you lose you will have to do something else. I don't think there will be any problem. But when this conflict is between great powers, and a small country is used as a tool, it is very dangerous because as soon as we enter the fray we cannot get out even if we want to. We would have to get involved and be used as their tool, and we would not be able to control the situation. This, I think, should be avoided. Therefore, if the term neutral here means not getting involved with the great powers' disputes, then it is an appropriate and correct principle.

[Question] Do we still have any way of keeping ourselves out?

[Answer] Yes, we do. Why not? However, we must understand and be able to say what they really are. The fact is that we have to make use of the conflicts between the great powers for our own advantage. This depends on our own wisdom. For example, when a Soviet ship came to Cam Ranh Bay, nations like the US and Japan were all excited about it but, asking frankly how the Thais felt about it, Thais didn't even know about it. As for myself, who has some knowledge of capabilities, when I was asked how we felt about it and how it would affect our country, I said it depended on why the Soviets sent their ship, do you understand? If they came in to check on the US forces then it was a US matter and was none of our business. But if they were here to encourage the Vietnamese to harm us, or they came to support Vietnam, this would have an effect on us. So we have to say why they were here. If it does not concern us then we don't have to get excited about it. If we did, we would become a tool of the US. Take the Vietnamese as an example. They didn't say anything but instead they asked Laos to attack verbally for them. It went something like this. Those people did not understand. They published an attack at a conference in Laos. Even though they knew it wasn't true, they had to say it. We sympathized with them. Therefore, we felt we had to say something. That actually happened. There are still things like this going on that we have to watch out for. We can describe our policy and how it works. This is very easy to say, but when we actually do it, every step and every minute must be thought out carefully. Otherwise, they will give back to us what we did to others. Although it is easy just to talk about philosophy, in practice we have to use our wisdom, and fully understand each step.

[Question] If the Vietnamese invaded us, could we fight successfully against them?

[Answer] I think so. In a war game I wrote a scenario for the fifth plan, and what the entire situation would be like, and what the forces would be. They have 25 divisions, but only 7 could come here. This is the nearest way. Other routes would be closed to them. Two-three divisions would be blocked in Sayaboury. From Laos it might be that 10-12 divisions could actually come in. They would have to come in with 1-4 divisions in front, in phases. We have nearly 4-5 divisions and there's no way they could come in.

If they did come in like that, our people would not cooperate with them. The only thing we are afraid of is if a united front strategy is used. The united front strategy means that there must be a front inside the country, and the front inside would rise up to join the fronts outside. If they attack only from the outside they would never succeed. There would have to be a Thai Heng Samrin. If there were a Thai Heng Samrin it would indicate we were split among ourselves. With no splits, there are no worries. If our political situation were like that, they would only have to jab a little with their elbows. If they did nothing we would collapse. If we are not able to defend the country, we should really be scared.

So when I say we have 48 million people and if we cannot resist against them, that would not do. There would be no strategy. When the strategy is used we have to win, and we will win if we work on it, but the key is to work and do something. Their economy is getting worse, I would say, whenever they ask the Soviets for help. In fact, if we look at it from another angle, it is to our advantage. As far as Vietnamese soldiers coming to confront Thai soldiers, I do not think there will be any problem: others will help us because it is interference. Other nations have to help. This will force Thai soldiers to enter the battlefield whether they want to go or not, because it is their duty. If we practice we will be better at it. The first year I went to observe things in the field it wasn't so good; this would be considered a chance to practice. Soldiers who do not fight are like boxers. How can they be any good? When we are better, then better usage will be made of the equipment.

[Question] Some say that if the Soviets push the Vietnamese, the Vietnamese would be able to fight.

[Answer] Then let them come in with their tanks. Let them come. It is not difficult to fight tanks. They depend on oil and run along roads. Where else can they go? In Europe it is different, but in Thailand they will have to run on the main roads and where else they can go? However, we have to have a plan. This is why I want to use the total force. We will dig a trap. Let them come, have them come anywhere. If they do come we have tools and we have mountains. This does not mean to retreat in order to escape but instead to fall back to a secure place or a planned position. This is included in the plan.

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CSO: 4207/19

FOREIGN INVESTMENT MONOPOLIES CRITICIZED

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 2 Nov 81 pp 6-7

[Article by Anchan Sawatdio: "Foreign Investment in the Thai Economy Is a Two-Edged Sword"]

[Text] His Excellency the Prime Minister of Thailand General Prem Tinsulanon has just returned from an official visit to the US. In the travelling party this time, besides officials from different posts who accompanied him, there were about ten leading businessmen. The purpose of having the businessmen included in the prime minister's party could be an attempt to persuade more US businessmen to invest in Thailand.

The task might not be so easy at this time when money for investment is harder to find in the west, and especially when the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Thailand released its survey results last August, indicating that 80 percent of the U.S. businessmen who filled out the questionnaire felt less favorable towards the Thai economy in general when compared with the past 6 months.

Also, 52 percent said they would not make any more investments throughout the coming year.

However, investment is the most important factor which we need very much for national development. The implementation of this policy by General Prem at this time indicated an attempt at his best to revive the economic situation.

According to present data, the level of foreign investment in Thailand is considered low, amounting to only 29 percent of the total investment within the country. This characterizes us differently from our friends who are members of ASEAN, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Singapore. These countries have foreign investment levels of 54.8, 56.9, 59.7, and 69.5 percent, respectively.

Foreign investment in Thailand is not only at a low level but also is in a steadily decreasing trend. For example, 33.4 percent of all foreign investment registered in the years from 1960 to 1969 was down to 27 percent 10 years later in 1970-1979. This shows a decrease in the level of investment by as much as 16.4 percent.

There are many reasons for the decrease in foreign investment. First, because of the strict policy for foreign investment that was once in effect in Thailand, especially in the period 1972-1979, there was legislation to restrict joint venture investment, which forbade foreign investors' holding large shares in some industries, and many other kinds of industrial investment by foreign investors.

Although the real goal of this policy was to prevent the Chinese in Thailand from having too much influence over the nation's economy, this had an unavoidable effect on investors from other countries, even though it was generally known that, in practice, these policies, rules, and regulations did not have to be followed strictly. Also, these regulations have been greatly relaxed since 1979. However, the trend of foreign investment has not improved.

Second, in the same period of time mentioned above and especially after 1973 there has been a strong reaction to Japanese investment on the part of both individuals and the public as a whole. This caused other nations' investors to be cautious about their safety.

Third, there are delays and many different steps that foreign investors have to confront in order to obtain a permit to run their business. These delays and tiresome procedures of Thai officials are well-known even among the Thai people themselves.

At the same time, the results of the survey made by the US Chamber of Commerce in Thailand revealed that the Customs Department and the Revenue Department were the most confusing and wearying of all.

Fourth, there are uncertainties in domestic politics. The fact that the government has changed very frequently, especially after 1973, has caused uncertainty among foreign investors with respect to both the policy and its consequences for business and foreign investment in Thailand. When they feel uncertain, they do not want to risk their investment.

The four reasons given above have caused the trend of foreign investment in Thailand to decline over the past ten years, and even though the government of Gen Prem has been trying to create an atmosphere favorable to investment in the country, there has not been a satisfactory increase in foreign investment.

Therefore, Gen Prem has had to resort to taking top-level Thai businessmen right to the US businessmen's homes to persuade more of them to invest in Thailand.

Whether the attempt made by Gen Prem at this time will be effective as expected or not partly depends upon removing the four obstacles mentioned, especially those dealing with government policy and political uncertainty within the country. These problems, according to 40 percent of the US businessmen, are the important ones that they have to confront over the next six months.

Another problem that might have an important effect on the decision of US business to invest in Thailand is that the cost of production in the next three months has a tendency to increase. This belief is held by more than 95 percent of those responding to the survey. Considering the present situation, there is a good chance that production costs will be higher and will result in a decrease in production.

Right now it is too soon to judge whether Gen Prem's trip this time will be successful or not, and if so, how much. The persuasion of US business to invest in Thailand is something we shall have to follow.

However, another issue that we should consider in foreign investment is that the investors' countries will take roles or will have power over the economic or even the political system of the country that receives the investment.

Thus, foreign investment is a two-edged sword. On the one hand, foreign investment is an important means for economic growth, while in the other hand, foreign investment may be a tool for economic and political interference in the host country.

This brings the country that receives the investment under the influence and domination of the investors' country, especially if the foreign investment sources are clustered in a very few leading economic countries. In this case, the chances of being influenced will be even greater.

In the case of Thailand nowadays, the majority of foreign investment falls in the hands of Japanese, U.S., and EEC group investors. These own over 60 percent of the total foreign investment.

The investment of the countries and the group mentioned above is all large-scale industrial investment. Out of a total of 60 percent the Japanese account for 34 percent. Meanwhile, the investment of the US and the EEC group is approximately 15 and 12 percent, respectively.

This indicates that the clustering of investments in Thailand is in the hands of investors of very few countries. Of this amount, Japanese investment has the greatest role. Next come U.S. investors. Therefore, the Japanese and the U.S. are able to play a strong role in the Thai economy.

The clustered form of investment sources mentioned above does not occur only in Thailand; investments in other ASEAN members are not much different from the situation in Thailand.

Foreign investment in the ASEAN countries on the average is over 60 percent and is large-scale industrial investment, and the investments are centered in the hands of Japan, the U.S., and the EEC.

This is the same as the case for Indonesia, where about 60 percent of the foreign investment is in big industry, and 36 percent of this amount is Japanese. Meanwhile, the U.S. investment and that of the EEC is 10 and 12 percent, respectively.

The situation is the same in Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore. The difference is only that the big investor in Malaysia and Singapore is the EEC, and the US is the big investor in the Philippines instead of the Japanese.

From the structure mentioned above, we can see that the two leading nations and one group--Japan and the U.S., and the EEC--not only play a role in and influence the economic system in Thailand, but they also play a role in the economic and political systems of the ASEAN countries.

Each ASEAN government realized this effect very well, and each tries to control foreign investments which they already have in order to lessen their influence over the economic and political system.

Meanwhile, they try to decentralize the investment sources into many different countries besides Japan, the U.S., and the EEC, in order to lessen these nations' influence over their economic systems.

However, study shows that the Thai have had very little interest in foreign investment control, and are the last of all the ASEAN members to start to do so. When they first started to work on it, their interest was aimed mostly at controlling Chinese investors in Thailand.

As far as the attempt to decentralize the investment sources is concerned, we have learned from past experience that it will not give a satisfactory result. We can see that the cluster structure of investment sources in 1978 was not much different from that in 1970.

Also, if we study Gen Prem's latest policy, we can see that the present governmental policy is opposite to the policy for decentralization of investment sources.

Besides this, Gen Prem is scheduled to make a trip to Japan in several days. If Gen Prem still uses the same policy as when he travelled to the US, it would mean that for the near future the foreign investment sources would still be clustered in the same way without any changes or any expansion. Also, it is quite possible that those countries would increase and strengthen their influence and power over our economy.

It is generally accepted that in the present situation the search for foreign investment is not an easy issue. Besides Japan, the U.S., and the EEC, there are only the Middle East oil-producing countries. However, these countries do not like to invest in the developing countries or in third world countries like themselves.

In the past, these countries preferred to invest in Western countries. But the lesson they learned when the U.S. froze Iranian assets during the conflict with the US in the case of the shah caused the Middle Eastern countries to feel that they could no longer trust the West countries.

Therefore, all the capital from the Middle East flows into Japan. This capital has brought great benefits to Japan, and the Japanese have become the most important investment source in Asia, or even in the world today.

From the situation mentioned above, we believe Gen Prem is in a position where he must be extremely cautious in making decisions selecting foreign investment sources. This is because the problem is not only how we can find capital to develop our national economy, but also how to make the right selection of investment source.

When Gen Prem decided to select the US as an investment source, instead of decentralizing to other countries which might be difficult to find, it could mean the acceptance of an increase in U.S. influence over the economic system in Thailand.

We fervently hope that Gen Prem is already well-prepared for the effect that will come about as a result of this decision.

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CSO: 4207/27

THAILAND

STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES OF RELATIONS WITH MALAYSIA VIEWED

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 22 Dec 81 pp 6, 7

[Article by Chaiyachok Chulasiriwong: "Relations Between Thailand and Malaysia: Without Trust, Things Will Not Go Smoothly"]

[Excerpts] On Monday, 14 December, Datuk Seri Sachiwan Mohamad Wanto, the chief minister of the state of Perak, which is in the northern part of Malaysia and which borders the Thai province of Yala, travelled to Yala Province in order to visit the provincial governor.

The purpose of his visit was to build friendly relations between them. Since Malaysia feels that Thailand is a friend and since Perak borders the Thai province of Yala, the chief minister wanted to meet with the provincial governor in order to talk and together solve some of the problems.

There is only one neighboring country on Thailand's southern border and that is Malaysia. Actually, it seems like the two countries already have good relations and are very close to each other. If there is any problem, they discuss things and depend on each other. As for agreements about matters of mutual benefit to both countries, they can talk to each other and their views are similar.

Thus, looked at superficially, relations between Thailand and Malaysia seem to be very close.

However, if we take a closer look, we can see that besides the things that they do cooperate on, there are also things that they do not cooperate on and that there are conflicts about.

Problems and Conflicts

As for conflicts or problems that Thais are directly responsible for creating, this refers to smuggling contraband items such as weapons and narcotics and selling them in Malaysia. Both weapons and narcotics are items that Malaysia is very strict about.

As for narcotics, Malaysians are beginning to play a role too. For example, last week, a Malaysian was arrested in Betong for having narcotics in his possession. Concerning such problems as this, both Thai and Malaysian officials should sincerely cooperate with each other in order to put a stop to such activities since these are problems that can destroy the security of both countries.

Another problem that may affect the good relations with Thailand is the fishing problem. In reality, Thailand has a fishing problem with all the neighboring countries regardless of whether these countries are to the south or to the east of Thai territorial waters.

As for the fishing problem that Thais have created for Malaysia, this is not just a matter of catching their fish. Oil is also smuggled into Thailand and sold here. This has an effect on the economies of both countries.

As for the problems created by Malaysia that affect relations between Thailand and Malaysia, there is the problem of the Thais who have established homes in the states of Kelantan, Saburi and Perles. Twenty to thirty thousand Thai Buddhists are living in these three states.

The Thais living in these areas do not enjoy the same rights as the Malaysians. For example, these Thais do not have the right to buy land or own the land and they work even though they have lived in Malaysia for several hundred years.

But such discrimination is not practiced only against the Thais. It seems as if the Malaysian government has such a policy toward all minority groups.

The major problems that may cause conflict between Thailand and Malaysia unless the governments of the two countries take an interest in maintaining the good relations are the problem of the Malaysian communist guerrillas and the problem of the bandit terrorists, the group that is trying to separate the southern part of Thailand from the country.

Concerning both these problems, in the past the Thai and Malaysian governments have viewed these problems differently even though both countries feel that these groups are outlaw groups.

The Thai government feels that the bandit terrorists are a greater danger than the Malaysian communist guerrillas and so it has given attention to solving the problems caused by the first group. As for the latter group, although they are Malaysia's problem and are direct enemies of Malaysia, they are a group that may help Thailand in reducing and blocking the terrorist activities of the bandit terrorists.

Some Thai government officials have made profits, such as from timber, from their contacts with the Malaysian communist guerrillas.

However, in 1976 and 1977, the Thai and Malaysian governments agreed to cooperate in suppressing the communist terrorists and the members of the organizations concerned along the border between the two countries. Based on the fact that they agreed to cooperate, Thailand helped Malaysia attack the Malaysian communist guerrillas many times and even gave the Malaysian army permission to suppress the guerrillas inside Thai territory (in accord with the agreements, the Thai army could pursue the terrorists inside Malaysian territory).

Later on, the Thai government began to change its policy toward the Malaysian communist guerrillas with the aim of really suppressing this group. It cooperated with the Malaysian government at every opportunity.

However, since some Thai officials thought only of their own private interests with the hope of making a profit from the Malaysian communist guerrillas, this caused Malaysia to have doubts about Thailand's sincerity.

At the same time, the Malaysian government did not show any enthusiasm about helping Thai officials to suppress the bandit terrorists. This was because the bandit terrorists were Moslems. Thus, if it helped Thailand suppress a fellow Moslem group, this would show the Moslems, both in Malaysia and throughout the world, that the Malaysian government had acted contrary to the laws of the religion.

Even though Malaysia's central government in Kuala Lumpur has vigorously denied that Malaysia has given support to the bandit terrorists (in answering a question posed by the leader of the opposition in parliament last month), the actions of the Malaysian government, such as remaining indifferent to the bandit terrorist problem, and the actions of lower-echelon officials stationed in northern states concerning the bandit terrorist problem and the Thai Moslem problem, have caused Thais, both government officials and civilians, to distrust Malaysia.

A good example is that the March 1977 Border Cooperation Treaty does not mention Malaysia's helping Thailand in the matter of the bandit terrorists. But it clearly specifies that each side will help suppress only the communist terrorists and the members of the border organizations concerned.

Not too many months ago, the Thai army pursued a group of bandit terrorists into Malaysia. Permission to do this was obtained from the commander of the Malaysian border forces. But 1 or 2 days later, this Malaysian command was recalled by the government in Kuala Lumpur.

The unfortunate events in Betong and Waeng at the beginning of the year that caused Thai soldiers in Malaysia to encounter difficulties in (their attempt to return) Thailand because of the news spread by and the actions of some border Myanmar officials help show their insincerity about cooperating to solve the minority problem that Thailand is now experiencing.

The final problem that can cause a conflict between Thailand and Malaysia is each side's views on the Indochina problem.

Thailand believes that the Indochina problem has arisen from direct threats from Vietnam, such as the occupation of Kampuchea and the present problem along the eastern border. Thus, Thailand has tried to make contact with China in order to help reduce the threat from Vietnam.

The Malaysian government, especially under the leadership of Dr Mahathir, does not feel that the real threat comes from Vietnam. And statements made by the Malaysian minister of foreign affairs, Tansiri Ghazali Shafie, on several occasions indicate a recognition of the Heng Samrin government (from an account by Lord Carrington, who attended a conference with Mr Ghazali Shafie in Germany on 3-4 November).

But at the same time, the Malaysian government is happy to support the three-faction Khmer coalition government that will oppose Vietnam. In particular, Mr Ghazali Shafie himself has frequently mentioned the importance of countries providing support in the form of weapons to the Khmer coalition government. At the same time, Malaysia has provided only food and clothing.

Because of such statements that conceal various meanings, Thailand is not sure what the new Malaysian government's real policy is. What is sure is that the Malaysian government does not trust the Chinese government and feels that the real threat is from China rather than from Vietnam. They may actually be using a domestic problem as a basis for viewing an international problem.

This domestic problem which Malaysia is experiencing is the problem of the Chinese in Malaysia and the problem of the Malaysian communist guerrillas, whom China is supporting.

However, regardless of whether or not Thailand and Malaysia disagree on some matter, Thailand is still very important to the security and survival of Malaysia. Because if Thailand falls under the influence of the Vietnamese or Chinese communists, Malaysia will confront the communist problem directly and that is something that Malaysia must avoid since Malaysia is a country that is terrified of the communists.

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11/17/43

ECONOMIC EXPERTS PREDICT 1982 PROBLEMS

Bangkok SIAM RAT SAPPADA WICHAN in Thai 20 Dec 81 pp 5, 6

[Article: "The 1982 Economy -- If the Government Fails to Act Correctly, There Will Be Problems"]

[Text] The economy is closely related to the daily lives of the people, determining whether [their lives] improve or worsen. And now as 1981 comes to a close and we enter 1982, what is the state of the Thai economy in the view of scholars?

Mr Wiraphong Ramangkun, an advisor to the prime minister and the dean of the Faculty of Economics at Chulalongkorn University, stated that the economic problems of 1981 were closely tied to [those of] last year. Even if the economy improves somewhat, it will not be able to reduce the worries of the people.

Agricultural production in 1981 increased approximately 7.8 percent as compared with last year's increase of only 5.8 percent. This is because last year's prices for products were very good and the weather was favorable. The industrial sector has expanded approximately 8.4 percent this year as compared with about 4.8 percent last year. This is because the oil shortage has relaxed.

However, in the industrial sector, in some industries such as the sugar, cement, tobacco and battery industries, production has increased while in others such as the textile, vegetable oil and ore industries, [production] has fallen.

As for investments, in the public sector there has been a great upward trend, for example, in the construction of the gas pipeline and in the investments of the Electricity Generating Authority. As for the private sector, there have been only small increases, particularly in the hotel business.

During the first 6 months [of the year], we had great problems in exporting agricultural products. It is expected that by the end of 1981, exports will have risen only 16.8 percent as compared with the 20-22 percent increase in exports of last year. This is a decrease. As for imports, the rate used to increase at an annual rate of approximately 23 percent but this declined to about 17 percent in 1981. Most of the items imported are raw materials; the direct importation of consumer goods has declined. The important thing is that the oil imports, the value of which amounts to approximately 33 percent of all imports, which used to increase at an annual average of

approximately 5 percent, fell in 1981. That is, the increase was only about 1.6 percent.

However, it is expected that Thailand's trade deficit in 1981 will be approximately 65 billion baht. This is an increase over last year when the trade deficit was approximately 58 billion baht.

As for the financial situation in 1981, things are not as serious as they were at the end of 1979 and in 1980, but there has been a tight money situation. The financial situation has changed continually almost all year. It is expected that this year's balance of payments deficit will be approximately 8 billion baht.

A very alarming problem is that reserves fell substantially this year. By September, they had fallen to only \$2.884 billion. This is equal to only 2.5 months of imports, even though reserves, as compared to imports, should equal approximately 6-7 months.

This year, inflation was only 13-14 percent, which is less than last year's rate of 19.6 percent. The government's financial situation is worrisome because the state is having difficulty collecting taxes. The taxes collected are 10 billion baht less than the amount targeted in the 1981 budget.

Concerning next year's economic trend, Mr Wiraphong stated that agricultural production will increase slightly over 1981, about 2.7 percent. Industrial expansion will remain at the same rate since the public sector will reduce investments while the private sector will increase investments somewhat if the financial situation is good and does not change.

As for next year's trade balance, the trend is for an even greater deficit since the price of agricultural products abroad has fallen. But Thailand will be able to save approximately 6 billion baht next year because of using more natural gas.

The financial situation, which is a serious problem, depends on the financial situation abroad, especially on that of America, if interest rates do not rise. But the trend in the United States during the last 6 months of the year is for an increase in interest rates. Thailand's financial situation will become more chaotic, and the balance of payments deficit will increase over that of 1981. As for the rate of inflation in 1982, it should stay around 10 percent.

Concerning the 1981 financial situation that has resulted from the failure to hit the tax collection targets by approximately 10 billion baht, it will be very difficult to collect taxes next year and, therefore, the government must use a policy of economizing.

"The country's economic position is improving, but the financial situation must be watched closely. If the government does something wrong, there will be many problems," stated Mr Wiraphong.

regarding investments, Mr. Thirayu Israngkun Na Ayuthaya, the deputy minister of industry, stated that investments have been low in the past period and that two measures must be implemented to solve this problem. First, the government must help by reducing taxes. But help should be given only to those industries, such as the chemical fertilizer industry, that need short-term support and that can support themselves in the long term. Second, the private sector must help improve production and reduce production costs, such as by conserving energy.

Besides this, in creating an investment climate, we must not use a policy that recognizes all the investor conditions as Burma has done. We must improve the export regulations so that things can be done faster. This must be done so that things are in accord with investment promotion as called for in the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan.

However, Mr. Thirayu stated that the "investment picture in 1982 will not be very bright. Rather, this will prepare the way for good programs in the future."

Mr. Thanadi Sophanasiri, the chairman of the Securities Exchange of Thailand, stated that the financial situation will be a worrisome problem. Approximately 80 percent of the investment capital comes from the domestic financial system, but the mobilization of domestic savings has increased only 15-17 percent. Previously, it was possible to mobilize 22-23 percent. As for the other 20 percent of the investment capital, this must be borrowed from abroad, 15-20 percent of which is borrowed from the United States.

At present, U.S. interest rates have been reduced from the high of about 20 percent to only 12-13 percent. This was done in order to help improve the depressed investment situation and to stem rising unemployment, which is around 7-8 percent. Another reason that interest rates have dropped is that during the first part of next year, the United States [will prepare for] a presidential election, and therefore action will be taken for political reasons. But after that, during the last 6 months of 1982, the U.S. government will have to increase the interest rate to approximately 14-20 percent in order to maintain the stability of the dollar. This will affect Thailand.

In summary, the monetary and financial situation will be a worrisome problem, but the government will have to show great skill in easing the situation.

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REASONS GIVEN FOR PUBLIC MISTRUST OF POLICE

Bangkok SIAM RAT SAPPADA WICHAN in Thai 1 Nov 81 pp 18-22

[Special Report: "There's Nothing Under the Sun Thai Police Cannot Do"]

[Text] A police subcommittee for studying problem of public cooperation and techniques for building a good image for the Police Department has found five main reasons why the public does not cooperate with the police: 1) conduct of the police themselves; 2) the public's disappointment in the performance of the police; 3) weaknesses of the administrative system and high officials in the Police Department which makes the department unable to resist political influence; 4) the economic and social situation; and 5) earlier public attitudes toward the police.

Since the change in government in 1932 the country has always been controlled by military-run governments which siezed power. It was the military who originally set up the Police Department. Thus, there was no other way but that the director of the Police Department had to come from the military. Before the change in government from absolute monarchy to democracy, the last director general of the Police Department had not participated in the People's Party, which was the spearhead of the revolution. Instead, Police Lieutenant General Phraya Atikon announced that he was on the side of the royal family, and that he would protect and fight for them. After the People's Party had succeeded in overthrowing the monarchy, he was removed and replaced by Police General Praya Buret Phadungchit (RTA).

"There Is Nothing Under the Sun Thai Police Cannot Do"

The police began to gain more power. Police General Luang Adudetchamrat (former name Bat Phungphrakhun, 1936-1945) was the first person who siezed the provincial investigation power from the local administration and transferred it to the police, for the first time in the history of criminal investigation in Thailand. He believed in the idea of "peace, order, and morality for the people." His great achievement was in setting up an undercover system in the Police Department which carried out special secret security police operations for the Free Thai movement when the Japanese armed forces were scattered all over Thailand, and the Japanese did not let the Police Department make any moves.

One time a police officer was transferred to a station in Phratabong Province, and a high official tried to stop the move. Police General Luang Adudetchamrat agreed not to move him to Phratabong, but then he issued a new order to transfer that officer to Omkoi branch district Hot District of Chiangmai Province. At that time it took one whole day by elephant, horse, or on foot to climb the mountains to get there.

As for officials at the administrative level who did not follow orders at that time, Police General Phra-Phichanphonkit, whose post was police assistant director-general of the Police Department and also police central investigation commander, was ordered to deport some Chinese but instead he released them on bail in order to let them take care of their property. Police General Luang Adudetchamrat asked to use the Interior Minister's power to remove the assistant director-general from the government immediately, because he believed it was an improper act to change the order on his own.

Later came the time of the "Police State" under Police General Pao Siyanon (1956-1957). The development of the Police Department was itself competing with the army. New work units were set up such as tank police, cavalry police, paratrooper police, border police, railroad police, water police, a foreign registration record and tax section, communications police, schools for investigation, and district court police. This brought about the age of knighthood for the police and a police state by the belief in the idea that "there is nothing under the sun the police cannot do."

During this period the police had a better understanding of the opium route, and had some ideas concerning administration. They wanted to have an election for governor. The expansion of police power was about to start with the setting up of municipal police. However, this idea did not succeed because Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat seized political power first, and the tank police were abolished.

Present-Day Conduct of the Police

The problem concerning police conduct arises from individual personnel, including administrative problems in the department which do not agree with either the administrative policy of the police, or with the growth of our country. Moreover, the regulations and procedures are outdated. The problem of police conduct could be solved by the Police Department itself with the personnel they have and the existing laws. This problem can be broken down as follows.

Whenever people have to deal with police on official business they feel that they waste a lot of their time, for example, in reporting, paying fines for traffic tickets, releasing on bail, obtaining driving licenses and passports, etc. Besides wasting their time, sometimes they become angry and downhearted because of the poor manners and lack of sympathy on the part of police station personnel.

In contacting police officers on official business a person has to pass many go-betweens at different steps. He has to offer tea money all along. This is because of our regulations and procedures for carrying out the job and also the many grades in government service. Due to the difficulty and complexity people often hire a go-between to make the contact for them, in order to apply for driving permits and gun permits at the registration section.

Police officers are often unjust and inconsistent in their power on duty given by the law. For example, checking and ticketing cars parked in a prohibited area will be made by the police only for personal cars, while small commercial vehicles and ten-wheel trucks can park in the prohibited area without an arrest. This makes the public believe the police have received some reward in return from the owners mentioned above.

Some influential groups illegally use a bribery system with the police for their own gain. This causes the police to stop doing their duty according to the law and to become a tool of the influential people.

Some police officers or some units are known to squeeze money out of people. Some behave inappropriately, using an impolite manner with people, and treat children and women inappropriately. They shout at people, thinking themselves superior. They use their power to intimidate people. They like to wear civilian clothes and let the handle of their hand guns stick out to let people know they are police, or they dress in civilian clothes sitting and eating in restaurants talking loudly and noisily, listening to loud radios to let people know they are police. Some wear long hair and beards. All of these things make people lose their faith and cause them to dislike the police.

Police officers do not do their job or are tardy in performing their duties. When people come to make a report they are often late in going to where the incident occurred. Some officers are interested in working on specific jobs or cases where they can have some gain in return rather than in performing a job that does not give them any gain or that has some risk.

In some cases the people are not satisfied with the job done by the police even when it is done lawfully, especially when it bypasses the feelings and needs of the people. In some cases the law is outdated compared to the growth of the nation, and the police have to work in accordance with the law. This can be in conflict with the feelings of the majority of the people.

People often refuse to cooperate with the police by not giving them help in catching thieves or by avoiding being witnesses for the police, because they cannot count on receiving protection from the police. In some cases the police do not keep secrets about those witnesses or undercover agents who work for them, causing their lives to be endangered. Police officers of low rank often make mistakes in their jobs because they do not know the law or have only a smattering of it.

The quality of the police nowadays is rather low because they have very little education when compared to military officers, and also because they are too young. The work of the police must depend on the power given by the law in performing their job, and it is most necessary for them to do work that is closely related to the public. Therefore, the criteria for selecting applicants to work as policemen should be set higher than those for civil service in general. For example, applicants should be at least 20 years old with the basic knowledge of a high school graduate, and they should have one year of training in both theory and practice.

Police Guard Gold Shops

The police and the public often have many reasons for conflicts when the police perform their duties and solve the problems at hand, as follows. When the police carry out their duties, this conflicts with feelings of the majority of the people

who saw such incidents as when, for example, the police went to make arrests for gambling at weddings, ordination celebrations, funerals, the Chinese New Year, the New Year celebration, etc.

The police perform their job according to their duties and according to theory; however, the public does not understand or else they misunderstand. For example, in the case of a great fire, when the fire was very intense in theory it would be of no use to spray water over the burning building, so the police sprayed water on the buildings next to it. The people who viewed the incident often misunderstood by thinking that the police had received some money from the owners of the building next door, and that was why they sprayed water to save only that building, and did not spray to put the fire out at the intensely burning building. Something like this can cause damage to the police in the public's eye.

In some cases people need help from the police but there are no police nearby. On the other hand, sometimes the people do not want the police to be there but they show up, such as the police who have to sit and watch in front of massage parlors or restaurants where illegal activities often occur. This causes a great deal of frustration and dissatisfaction for the owners of these places and also for the people who come to enjoy themselves there. This is one of the reasons that the public is disappointed in police performance.

The police who sit on guard in front of gold shops lead people to think of them as serving only investors and the rich despite the fact that their salaries are from the people's taxes. This case is one incident used by the opposition to stir the masses. This case also includes sending the police to serve merchants or businessmen personally. Therefore, the police should be completely withdrawn from guarding gold shops and from protecting businessmen and merchants personally.

In a case where the laborers or hired persons in factories went on strikes in order to obtain a wage increase or more benefits, the owners of the factories reported it to the police and asked them to control the situation. The police often are accused of taking the investors' and factory owners' side. Sometimes when the crowd is in a state of confusion and people hurt each other, the police are accused of abstaining from arresting the wrongdoers, or sometimes the police themselves are accused of doing the laborers some harm.

The Police Director-General, an Example of High Officials' Weaknesses

Over the whole period of 49 years politics has influenced the Police Department. This is because it is a big department consisting of many divisions, weaponry, and police forces that are spread all over the country, and the police director-general is a very powerful and influential post, so that the director-general is often appointed only from persons that the cabinet can trust. Whenever a change in the government occurred, the person in this post was changed as well. So the implication appears to be that the post of director-general is a political one.

Since the police director-general post depends on political conditions, in the past the police director-generals often followed government policy and politicians' ideas, which changed whenever there was a change in government. Many problems in the Police Department were solved often by using means desired by the politicians, instead of using the right police administrative principles as in other civilized

countries. These caused the Police Department not to have a definite stand. It did not stand side by side with the public. Sometimes it neglects the public or is the public's enemy. The many things mentioned have accumulated for so long that they have caused the Police Department a full load of problems; some have called it "that conservative department" because no improvements were made to keep up with the growth of the nation. The weakness of the administration and its high officials leaves the Police Department unable to resist political trends.

Therefore, the power of the commanding officer under the director-general should be decentralized to lower units which are the general headquarters and headquarters, in order to lessen the pressure aimed at the director-general only. Administrative principles should be used at all levels of working units. There are six steps in the administration of police work: planning, carrying out, control, testing, research and evaluation, and improving.

In order to improve high officials in the Police Department, it is necessary to build up the goals and ethical behavior for each individual consistent with their occupation because the police are the ones who hold weapons and the law in their hands, and they also have to work closely with the public. Their job is to protect the public everywhere. The lack of goals and ethical behavior in their duties and occupation can cause unlimited trouble for the public. In order to prepare the police to do high-level official jobs in the Police Department, support should be given only to those who are knowledgeable, capable, and of ethical behavior. The patronage system should not be used, otherwise high officials in the Police Department would not be accepted in general circles.

The Economic and Social Situation

Since World War II the economy in Thailand has worsened. It is even worse than when it was faced with petroleum price increases one after another from the Middle East countries. The ailing economy causes government employees who already have limited incomes to tighten their belts even more. Whatever section they are in, whenever they have a chance, they abuse their position for the sake of unethical advantage without feeling guilty about the wrongdoing for a good living for themselves and their families.

Latter day popular values of Thai society tend to worship the wealthy no matter how they obtained their wealth. No matter how bad the behavior or background is, if people have money they are praised, respected, and held prominent in society. These popular values have become widespread in all levels of Thai society. In this way a bad person was considered to be a good one, and this led people to worship the rich person instead of the well-behaved one. Because of this, a bad but rich person can show up in high class society. On the other hand, one who is good but poor will not be praised or respected, and may even be insulted for being a good and well-behaved person. These popular values, as mentioned before, are a reason why government employees do not pay attention to doing what is good, and instead look for corruption money so they too will be prominent in society.

What is considered the "new culture" is that a bad person is being protected instead of a good one. This practice occurs throughout all government agencies. If a worker did something wrong his superior would try to find a way to help him to reduce the seriousness of the matter or would use a loophole in the law to help

that person avoid being punished. By doing that the superior is often praised as being good, helpful, and kind-hearted toward the staff under him. In the opposite case, if a supervisor follows the procedures and regulations of the law, making sure his staff strictly adheres to their code of conduct, he would be assailed as a hard-hearted, unkind, and as one who does not care for his staff. He would often be hated by workers in those sections.

For this reason, the majority of superiors are negligent and are not interested in checking and controlling their staff. When the staff do something wrong they dare not punish them because they are afraid their staff would be angry at them and hate them. This causes the administrative system to become loose with no discipline. Anyone can do as he wants. Whenever wrongdoing occurs, they will try to help the wrongdoer. For the reasons mentioned above staff have received much encouragement, and have misbehaved regularly.

In this case, an example that actually happened was when a powerful police inspector in Trang Province arrested gamblers at a wedding party. An ordinary policeman who did not listen to the warning resisted with his weapon and shot the inspector. Other policemen in the police station did not even try to arrest him. When the Police Department finally found out about the incident, it ordered all policemen in that station back to the department. From this true story we can see that a person who committed wrongdoing was protected, while on the other hand, for the one who did the right thing, there was no one to help.

Dishonesty and the police self-help system are weak points and the source of many problems. This results from popular value judgments of worshipping the rich instead of praising good people. Moreover, the supplies and equipment given by the government are not enough for the job that has to be done. This leads the police to show their ability to raise money to make it possible for them to work effectively. Any unit or anyone who cannot raise any money for themselves is said to have no ability, and will not be trusted by their supervisors.

Another reason that causes the police to be dishonest, or not to follow the regulations when performing their duties, is the self-help system. Insufficient supplies and money used to administer and carry out a job, for example, travel expenses to take suspects to courts at different places for investigations. The police must find their own way to get there first, for example, a trip to the scene of an accident or to an investigation in different areas. Neither transportation nor travel expenses are provided, so the police have to pay for food and travel expenses with their own money first. Stationery, teaching supplies, and even handcuffs are not provided, so the police have to buy them on their own. Weapons and ammunition are insufficient for the police forces, so they have to struggle to find their own guns and ammunition for use in government business. When tools, equipment, and government buildings are in a state of disrepair, they have to find money to do the repairs themselves. They have to buy their own communications equipment because of insufficient equipment from the government. Whoever has undercover agents or informants has to find some money to take care of them himself. Whoever brings a case to court has to pay for all expenses for the witness's protection, and a superior has to find money on his own to pay for receiving guests.

These expenses are not provided by the government, or if they are, they are insufficient, and it would take so long that it was not available in time to be

spent in their work. This forces the police to use their own efforts to find money to carry out the job. Anyone who cannot find it is said to be incapable, and undeserving of the trust and support of his superior. When they can find some money for the government, it is common to take some for themselves.

Public Attitude Toward Bad Policemen

If the public had faith in someone before, whatever that person does always seems to look good to the public. On the other hand, whoever the public already dislikes, no matter what he does later even if he thinks it is what's best, he might manage to just break even. Damage to his reputation would even be twice as much if he were remiss. Police all over the world realize this fact, so there is improvement in the knowledge and capability of police to look good in the eyes of the public. This has succeeded in many countries except Thailand. People love and have trust in police in countries such as England, Japan, Germany, Denmark, Greece, Yugoslavia, etc.

The reasons people do not like police in a normal situation might result from family attitudes. Children receive a bad attitude toward the police from when they are small. Adults often trick children if they continue to cry by saying the police might come to get them, and if they run to the edge of a street they might be caught by a policeman, etc. This can actively create fear and hatred in the police; later on this feeling becomes permanent. Those who might experience bad treatment from the police would even strongly believe it was true that the police were bad.

Generally, in many police stations there are many more investigative jobs that the staff can handle. This causes the staff to avoid doing more work by refusing a report, making a big case into a small one, or pushing the case to a nearby police station. When a person comes to file a complaint the staff often intentionally delays things so that the client gets fed up with it, and stops thinking about filing the complaint. More investigative staff should be added to balance the number of cases by considering having police of assistant commander level, and assistant superintendents, of which there are many who have nothing to do, prod the commanders and superintendents to accept the cases and to carry out the investigations. This could be very useful.

Police morale and willpower are not good when their families are in trouble because their income does not match their expenses. This prevents them from working at their full potential. The salary of an ordinary Thai policeman is lower than that of an unskilled laborer (54 baht per day and 1,620 baht per month, while a policeman's starting salary is 1,280 baht and the highest starting salary is only 1,685 baht). There is nowhere else in the world where a government employee's salary is lower than that of an unskilled laborer, like this. When we compare this rate with our neighboring countries, such as Malaysia and Singapore, whose cost of living is close to that of Thailand, we can see that the Thai police salary is much lower. In those two countries, the salary for a policeman starts at 205 Malaysian dollars or approximately 1,050 baht, and the highest is 520 Malaysian dollars, or approximately 2,600 baht, even though they receive much better benefits. For example, housing is provided in all cases. Their children's tuition fees are paid in the full amount set by the schools, as well as food and travelling allowances, places to stay while travelling, medical treatment, and monetary assistance for their children. All this is provided for them.

There has always been criticism of the system for filling positions and promotions resulting in an increase in a policeman's salary. Paying money is necessary to obtain a rank, post, and salary for oneself. There was a rumor, which probably had some truth to it, about the commander of a personnel division who was removed from the government because he was found guilty of demanding money in return for his help in appointing someone to be a police officer, but he was not able to deliver the appointment. This led to the belief that the rumor was true, and stories like this are a common occurrence. Thus, this belief is now widely held by both the police and the public.

Besides this, there is outside influence on the Police Department from both politics and government circles that interferes and forces the Police Department to appoint their people to many posts. The power to fill a position and to appoint someone to a post can have either advantages or disadvantages. It can lead to advantage, luck, and being worshipped, so it is a power that is reluctantly given, and is concentrated only in the central unit. The police committee's (PC) job is to make judgments in appointing and raising a police officer's salary. In some administrations, it required merely the police director-general or the Interior Minister's stamp of approval. The appointment was not really made by them. There have been rumors about young officers supervising over older ones. A patronage system in which young officers who work closely with the police director-general or the Interior Minister are appointed to fill many important posts makes the police who are trying to do their jobs lose their enthusiasm, and this will have harmful consequences for the whole nation.

Staff Administration

For the administration inside the Police Department, there related policies should be done in sequence. The job categories inside the department must be considered first. Next, suitable criteria for rewards, grades, and ranks of the new police officers should be set, and finally a dissemination system must be arranged for the police.

The reasons why job categories inside the Police Department should be considered first in solving the problem are as follows.

1. Setting job categories is an arrangement to put people into suitable jobs, according to staff administration, by using criteria based on knowledge and capability. Therefore, this can be a way to approach the confusing arrangement of which in order to raise the quality of the job in public service without having to increase the budget, equipment, and staff.
2. After the categories in the department is set all police officers in each job would know about their own job. This means they would know what job they could apply for according to their knowledge and how far they could go in terms of progress, and what posts they might be eligible for.
3. The appointment of police officers to posts will be done in a better way because of the job category arrangement; each post will be sorted out by qualification and the level of knowledge for staff in all levels for each post.
4. This is a way to lessen all the confusion in getting a police officer a post which he wants by using influence of others, even though he himself has neither knowledge nor the ability suitable for that job. However, if he wants to go

about getting a position, he can only be allowed to go about getting it within that job category. Asking the Police Department to transfer a police officer across a job category would not be allowed, or if it could be done, it would be more difficult to do than the way things are done now.

5. After people are in the right jobs what remains will be the real problems we have to solve. There will not be many of them. However, they will not be seen clearly if job categories not set up. Without knowing what the real problems are, the Police Department cannot solve the problems in the right way.

Job Category Arrangement

The job category arrangement means classifying into groups all positions according to the responsibility, seniority, and qualifications for each post. The purpose is to know the grades for the posts in the same group of posts in order to fill a position or to promote an employee according to the levels in a job unit.

Police jobs may be arranged into at least 10 main categories. Each is divided into groups that have positions closely related to each other. Thus, each position will be directly subject to its step level in a pyramid of positions and steps of command, as follows:

1. crime prevention, e.g., patrol officers, police officers for control of crime breeding grounds, traffic police, etc.
2. investigation, such as investigators, investigation and suppression officers, juror case division, etc.
3. security, such as border patrol police (except the support element), special branch police, special suppression unit, etc.
4. police technical specialists, such as registry and criminal records officers, medical examiners, etc.
5. business, such as business personnel, typists, police personnel officers, etc.
6. communications and transportation, such as communications officers, drivers, communications maintenance officers, etc.
7. finance, such as budget officers, bookkeepers, fiscal officers, chief accountant, etc.
8. medical
9. quartermaster line such as inventory officers, procurement officers, etc.
10. experts.

Conclusion

The police began in Thailand 300 years ago, and it has evolved all these years along with the country in order to "keep internal peace and order with honor and

prestige." Even though some police had done bad things that damaged the image of the Thai police, we also know there are those who have lost their lives in protecting and suppressing communist terrorism, the ones who are given a royal funeral ceremony. There are 100 to 200 police who sacrifice their lives each year. Those who lost their lives are the answer to the question, "in the whole Police Department, can't we find any good ones?"

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